

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE WEST IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE

Renewal and Utopia

Rima Devereaux



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RENEWAL AND UTOPIA

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CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE WEST
IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE
RENEWAL AND UTOPIA

RIMA DEVEREAUX

D. S. BREWER

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CONTENTS

List of illustrations	vi
Acknowledgements	ix
List of abbreviations	x
Note to the reader	x
Introduction	1
Part I: Renewal and Utopia: The Terms of the Debate	
1. Making Sense of History: East–West Relations and the Idea of the City in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	9
2. Renewal and Utopia: Two Paradigms for Understanding East–West Relations in Medieval French Texts	36
Part II: Constantinople Desired	
3. <i>Aemulatio</i> : The Limitations of East–West Alliance	75
4. <i>Admiratio</i> : Utopia as Social Critique	105
Part III: The <i>Renovatio</i> of the West	
5. <i>Translatio</i> Embodied? Renewal, Truth and the Status of Constantinople in Thirteenth-Century Didactic Texts	131
6. <i>Renovatio</i> as Commemoration: Civic Loyalty and the Latin Empire of Constantinople in Venetian Historiography	157
Conclusion	183
Appendix 1: Original Latin Quotations	189
Appendix 2: References to Constantinople in Other Epics and Romances	192
Appendix 3: Outline of Events in the History of East–West Relations from the Second Crusade to the Palaeologan Reconquest	198
Bibliography	203
Index	227

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates

1. 'Peutinger's Table' (southern Germany, twelfth century). 22
ÖNB/Wien, Cod. 324, segment IV (top) and VIII (bottom), depicting Rome and Constantinople respectively. Reproduced by permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
2. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, translated into French by Raoul de 25
Presles (1469–73). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 18, fol. 3v. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
3. Chartres cathedral, Charlemagne window (early thirteenth century), 67
panels 2–7. (a) Two bishops bring Charlemagne a letter, (b) Charlemagne appears to Constantine in his sleep, (c) He is received by Constantine at the gate of a city, (d) Charlemagne does battle against the Saracens, (e) Constantine gives Charlemagne three reliquaries, (f) Charlemagne offers the relics to the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. Copyright © Bernard Gasté, 2006. Reproduced by permission of the Association Les Chevaliers Carnutes (www.cathedraledechartres.fr).
4. *Marques de Rome* (Paris, 1466), in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 151
de France, fonds français, 93, (a) fol. 52r and (b) fol. 53v.
Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 587 (Venice, c. 1330). 170–71
(a) Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, fol. 1r and (b) Bonincontro dei Bovi, *Historia de discordia et persecutione, quam habuit ecclesia cum imperatore Frederico Barbarossa, tempore Alexandri tertii, summi pontificis et demum de pace facta Venetiis et habita inter eos*, fol. 59r (detail).
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Map

- Map of Constantinople, from John Julius Norwich, *A Short History of xii*
Byzantium (London: Penguin, 1998), p. xii. Copyright © John Julius Norwich, 1988. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

To Paul, Gita and Maxim, with all my love

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis
CCMe	<i>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</i>
CFMA	Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge
CUER MA	Centre Universitaire d'Études et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix
CUP	Cambridge University Press
GRLM	<i>Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters</i> , ed. Hans Robert Jauss and Erich Köhler, 11 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1972–93)
OUP	Oxford University Press
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne et al., 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–91)
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
SATF	Société des Anciens Textes Français
SEDES	Société d'Éditions d'Enseignement Supérieur

Note to the reader

Throughout this book, all references in footnotes are given in an abbreviated form. Full references to all works cited can be found in the bibliography. Latin quotations are given in translation; an asterisk after each indicates that the original Latin can be found in Appendix 1. Long quotations in languages other than Latin are translated after the relevant original quotation. Short quotations are translated in footnotes; single words and short phrases are not translated. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated, and have been produced with the help of reference works by Habel, Levy, Du Cange and Tobler-Lommatzsch.

Introduction

Tony Tanner writes in *Venice Desired*: ‘A city’s representational life is quite different from its historic, economic, demographic, cartographic, political, ceremonial, cultural life, though of course it may draw on and indirectly reflect or transcribe elements from any or all of these dimensions of the city’s existence.’¹ In Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, medieval France saw something of the quintessential ideal city. Attitudes to the Byzantine capital ranged from admiration and envy to a desire to imitate and compete with its many wonders. Scholars have long recognized that manifold perceptions coalesce in medieval French vernacular texts around this city. Krijnie N. Ciggaar has developed a framework of attitudes which she sees mirrored in medieval Western representations of Constantinople. The desire to imitate and assimilate elements of Byzantine culture into the West was predicated upon a prior experience of loss of the East and all that this fluid concept stood for. This desire provided the impetus upon which the political and cultural renewal of the West was founded. Yet the city also embodied an otherworldly and irreducibly different culture, celebrated as the utopian locus of a categorical and inimitable difference.

In this study I identify and analyse the strands of this debate between different attitudes to the Byzantine capital in medieval French texts. I have chosen to study ten vernacular Old French and Franco-Italian texts. The better known texts in my corpus include the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, *Girart de Roussillon*, *Partonopeus de Blois*, the poetry of Rutebeuf, and the chronicles by Geoffroy de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, both known as the *Conquête de Constantinople*. The others, including Gautier d’Arras’s *Eracle*, *Marques de Rome*, the Franco-Italian *Macario* and Martino da Canal’s *Estoire de Venise*, have less frequently been the subject of study.

To differentiate between the two opposing poles in this debate I use the terms renewal and utopia, and define these concepts against a broad background of thought, including East–West relations, intellectual history, the theology of the city and the preoccupation with otherness informing both literary criticism and contemporary philosophical debate. The first question that the study seeks to answer is: how does the texts’ representation of

¹ Tanner, p. vi.

Constantinople enact this debate between renewal and utopia, bearing in mind that these concepts are fluid and incorporate a variety of different attitudes? So the main contribution of this study lies in its identification and analysis of this debate across a variety of medieval French and Franco-Italian texts.

In refining the scope of my corpus I was influenced by the premise that texts from different traditions all participate in the same debate, which transcends questions of genre. The *intergeneric* is a term, theorized by recent critics, that expresses rhetorical and stylistic concepts that cross the boundaries of genre. My study is also a contribution to such intergeneric analysis. The second question which the study seeks to answer is therefore: how does the representation of the city of Constantinople contribute to a debate on the generic status of the texts?

Finally, I seek to anchor the texts' representation of East–West relations securely in the issue of Western socio-political identity, self-definition and intellectual and philosophical outlook during the period, of which its historical relationship with Byzantium is only a part. The limits of the period studied (the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) were determined by the need to confine myself to a coherent political and socio-cultural context.² In order to do full justice to the complexity of the theme of renewal, I focused my research on the three Old French narrative genres that were most significant during the period: *chansons de geste*, romance and historical chronicles. However, as I will explain in Chapter 1, I have included two narrative poems by Rutebeuf. So the third question that the study seeks to answer is: how does the representation of East–West relations in the texts react to the socio-cultural context in which they were produced, and fulfil a role within that context? Of course, by 'context' is understood a much broader reality than simply the West's historical relations with Byzantium. Renewal and utopia are concepts that help us to explain the relationship between text and context. Hence the book also engages with a broader debate about the relationship between historical and literary approaches to medieval literature. At the same time, renewal and utopia are working definitions, and the study hopes to come to a better assessment of their usefulness.

The book arranges the material chronologically, historicizing the literary texts in the concerns of the society that produced them, but also treating them as sources for the knowledge about Byzantium that vernacular society gained through them. The emphasis is on medieval France (and Italy, in the case of the final chapter) and its perceptions of various aspects of Byzantine society as conveyed in the texts. I argue that these perceptions oscillated between renewal and utopia, and that these attitudes served a purpose in the society that gave rise to them. This purpose sheds light on the role and interaction of

² For surveys of the influence of Byzantine culture on medieval French literature, see Köhler; Seidel, pp. 31–123.

the different genres examined in the course of the study. So the three questions that the study seeks to address are closely interlinked.

Many critics have addressed the issue of the literary portrayal of Constantinople. My debt to the many articles concerned with this theme (too numerous to mention here) will be evident in every chapter of this study. Although the critics whose interpretations I have found helpful have not often used the terms that I have chosen, their analysis of the role played by East–West relations indicates an awareness of the same debate on which I will be focusing. Thus Ilse Seidel’s study of Byzantine influence on twelfth-century French literature, a study that is not directly concerned with the representation of Constantinople, describes Byzantium as ambivalent, positioned as it is between East and West (p. 7).

I have borrowed the terms *renovatio*, *aemulatio* and *admiratio* from Krijnie N. Ciggaar’s interpretation of East–West relations in *Western Travellers to Constantinople*. I have used this terminology in order both to identify stages in a supra-temporal process, encompassing both imitation (*aemulatio*) and renewal (*renovatio*), and to map historical changes as Ciggaar does. *Translatio* is one means of mediating between these positions, and I have drawn extensively on Ciggaar’s account of the various *translationes*. I distinguish this process, the aim of which is renewal, from admiration (*admiratio*) of the city as utopia. Based on the premise that literary texts may exemplify these positions in complex ways, my use of this terminology aims at an interpretation of the tension played out in the texts of my corpus between Byzantine and Western sites of power.

The Augustinian idea of the city, as elucidated in medieval theology and intellectual history, has also informed my approach to a significant extent. Critical works that I have found especially helpful include *The Idea and Ideal of the Town*, edited by Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins, and *Civitas: Religious Interpretations of the City*, edited by Peter S. Hawkins. My interest in this area lies in its thematization of the city as a metaphor for renewal, and the problems posed by such a theological understanding of community for the representation of Constantinople both as a geographically limited society and as a model for the West.

My conceptualization of utopia as an intellectual category participates in and contributes to the engagement with otherness informing both literary criticism and contemporary philosophical debate. In particular, I owe a large debt to Stephen Greenblatt’s *Marvelous Possessions*, and have also found Emmanuel Levinas’s approach illuminating. Greenblatt appears to suggest that wonder, or the experience of alterity (my *admiratio*), moves inevitably towards possession (pp. 13–25). He traces a progression from wonder, through self-recognition in and identification with the other, to the desire to replace the loss of wonder with violence, which confers possession (pp. 133–35). At times he adopts a pessimistic view of the encounter with the Other, suggesting that it may serve as a bulwark against the necessary

process of self-recognition, and seems to consider that a degree of identification is essential in order for wonder to be experienced to the full. Yet he is preoccupied with the importance of retaining wonder unsullied (pp. ix, 25). In Greenblatt's formulation, the notion of wonder transcends the difference between renewal and utopia.³ In the process of renewal which I have analysed as moving from *aemulatio* to *renovatio*, there is a similar degree of slippage – not vested in either one of these extremes but implicated in the process itself – between identification and possession. At the same time, my category of utopia bears witness to the continued existence of newness and alterity for their own sakes in the process of cultural dialogue.

Like Greenblatt, Levinas recognizes the danger of transforming the Other into a projection of the Same, but he is more optimistic in his positing of an Other that can be preserved as such without appropriation.⁴ While my understanding of utopia, in its intellectual elaboration in Chapter 1, certainly has affinities with the Levinassian Other (infinity as opposed to totality), the representation of Constantinople as utopia in the texts that I have examined does no more than gesture towards this notion of radical separateness, and the existence of the Other tends to be merely a prelude to its imminent appropriation by the West.

The sequence in which I have chosen to present my material is explained by the need first to identify the debate between renewal and utopia and then to analyse its different stages. Thus the texts are presented in approximately chronological order. Part I is concerned with setting up the issues involved in this intellectual debate and exploring their representation in literary texts. In Chapter 1 I therefore outline the debate in general terms. In Chapter 2 I move on to discuss the exploitation of the theme of the *translatio* of relics as a means for renewal in two twelfth-century texts, Gautier d'Arras's *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. These texts' contrasting presentation of the Byzantine capital provides a fertile case study for discerning the intellectual dialectic outlined in this introduction. In this chapter too, unlike in the subsequent chapters, I have presented my material in the order textual analysis, followed by generic comments, followed by historical background and literary/cultural intertexts, in order to clarify the different strands of my argument. In the subsequent chapters, this material is intermingled.

By analysing the close links between imitation (*aemulatio*) and admiration (*admiratio*), Part II suggests that there may be a greater slippage between renewal and utopia than is implied in Part I.⁵ In Chapter 3 I discuss both the existence of utopia as an alternative to renewal through *aemulatio*, and the

³ See also Kabir and Williams, pp. 2, 7–8.

⁴ Davis, pp. 41–54; Purcell, pp. 122–34. For brief comments on the Other in twentieth-century French thought, see also Tanner, pp. 360–62, 365–66.

⁵ The title I have given to Part II, 'Constantinople Desired', is inspired by the title of Tanner's book.

multiple locations of renewal, in two twelfth-century texts about marriage alliance, *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Girart de Roussillon*. In Chapter 4 I look at two thirteenth-century texts (Robert de Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople* and the Franco-Italian *Macario*) that show Western protagonists viewing the utopia itself as a potential means for renewal to be achieved not through alliance but through social transformation; *admiratio* thus becomes a catalyst for change, leading to a reconciliation of renewal and utopia.

Through a redefinition of East–West relations as embodied in the Fourth Crusade, marriage alliance and *translatio topoi*, Part 3 operates a shift in focus to Western *renovatio*, reflecting the changed context of the thirteenth century. In Chapter 5 I turn to didactic fiction and the conflicting relationship between *translatio* and truth in *Marques de Rome* and Rutebeuf. The difficulty of locating renewal is demonstrated in Rutebeuf's use of the *translatio* topos, which is significantly different from the use of the same topos in Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès*. The texts in this chapter question the effectiveness of chivalry and alliance, which in Part I were means for achieving renewal. In Chapter 6 I examine the role of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and in particular the retrospective redefinition of the Fourth Crusade as a triumph, in promoting renewal through civic loyalty. The texts on which I focus are Martino da Canal's *Estoire de Venise* and a Venetian manuscript of Geoffroy de Villehardouin. Finally, the conclusion will assess briefly the implications of the distinction between utopia and renewal in Western attitudes to Constantinople for the texts' generic status and the context in which they were produced.

The book's structure can also be explained in terms of thematic focus. It begins by looking at the figure of the emperor (whether Byzantine or Western) and how he is constructed by the West, focusing on Heraclius and Charlemagne (Chapter 2). It then moves on to the Byzantine princess and examines the role she plays, the possible historical models that stand behind her representation, and what this tells us about the society's concerns (Chapter 3). It then looks at the representation of the people and of social conflict, and the different roles this plays in texts from different periods and areas (Chapter 4). Next it examines the theme of the loss of the Byzantine Empire in thirteenth-century texts, asking what image of the Latin Empire and of 1261 emerges from this representation (Chapter 5). Finally, it treats the theme of the Fourth Crusade and the role it plays (Chapter 6).

It is my hope that this book, as well as presenting a strong case for the existence of the debate between renewal and utopia in attitudes to Constantinople, will help to open up new vistas of research in genre and context as well as in East–West relations, and pose more questions that will provide fruitful subjects of study for years to come.

PART I

Renewal and Utopia:
The Terms of the Debate

Making Sense of History: East–West Relations and the Idea of the City in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Together with Chapter 2, this chapter will introduce the methodological and intellectual foundations for the study and set out the debate with which it is concerned, both in general terms and in relation to specific literary texts. Byzantium had particular importance for the West in the twelfth century. As I have said, the concepts of *aemulatio* and *renovatio*, and in particular the use of the *translatio* topos, were significant for the West's attitude to Constantinople and shed light on the relationship between Western renewal and dealings with the Byzantine capital. This notion of renewal had implications for the representation of the city, through the Augustinian doctrine of the two cities and the identity of the city as a combination of material structure (*urbs*) and community (*civitas*). The nature of the utopia was radically different to this, involving as it did the idea of *admiratio* and the role of the onlooker in fashioning the city as utopia.

Some aspects of Western interest in Byzantium during the twelfth century

The rise of the Comnenian dynasty in 1081 heralded a period of dramatically increased contact between Byzantium and the West. Such contact was favoured by the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and aided by the matrimonial policies and crusading connections of ruling Western families, such as the house of Blois-Champagne in twelfth-century France. Not just ambassadors and crusaders but merchants, artists, scholars and pilgrims too travelled to Constantinople (κωνσταντινούπολις), either by the sea route, boarding a ship in one of the Mediterranean ports, or by any one of various alternative overland routes. However, Western access to and understanding of the city of Constantinople was limited by a number of factors. For instance, knowledge of Greek was not widespread in Western Europe. Moreover, crusaders and pilgrims alike would have visited only a small number of sanctuaries, and would have viewed palaces only from

the outside.¹ Some areas of Byzantine life particularly interested Westerners during this period.

The palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernae would have been particularly striking for a Western visitor, since such complexes of urban architecture were hardly known in the West. The Bucoleon palace (βουκολέων) was the main imperial palace next to Saint Sophia. It was begun by Constantine I (324–37), transformed under the reign of Theophilus (829–42), and added to by later emperors such as Manuel Comnenus. The Comneni abandoned it for the palace of Blachernae on the other side of the city, but it was occupied again by Andronicus I Comnenus, Alexius III Angelus and the Latin emperors. According to Anna Comnena in the *Alexiad*, its name, erroneously interpreted in the West as ‘lion’s mouth’, was taken from a sculpture on the quay representing a fight between a bull and a lion.² In this palace was the hall of the Chrysotriclinos, whose walls were covered in mosaics of different colours. Mosaics were of course known to the West in Italy and Sicily, but the earliest recorded use of the Old French word *musique*, from medieval Latin *musaicum*, is in Benoît de Sainte-Maure.³ A portrait of Christ enthroned, positioned above the imperial throne itself, underlined the status of the emperor or *basileus* (βασιλεύς) as the living representative of Christ. This status was also emphasized in the arrangement of the imperial tombs in the church of the Holy Apostles. This church was built by Justinian in 550 on the site of an earlier church built by Constantine, and repaired by Basil I (867–86). As well as Constantine’s own tomb, it contained twelve so-called tombs in honour of the apostles, six placed on each side of that of Constantine, who was celebrated not only for his political foundation of the Byzantine Empire in 330, but also hailed by the Byzantine Church as *ισαπόστολος* (‘equal of the apostles’).⁴ As capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople appeared to Westerners as the centre of an ideology that upheld the unity of Christendom under the Byzantine emperor, founded on the city’s Graeco-Roman heritage and consolidated by the idea of a Christian *oikumene*. The emperor was not

¹ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 1–3, 17–18, 28–29, 33–36, 45–47, 323–37; Ciggaar, ‘Visitors from North-Western Europe’, pp. 132–36; Legros, ‘Connaissance, réception et perceptions’, pp. 110–12, 116–18; Legros, ‘Constantinople’, pp. 527–30; Kazhdan, I, 508. For historical relations between the West and Byzantium during this period, see Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 155–56, 161–200, 245–93; see also Appendix 3. For the nobility of France and the chivalric ideal during the period, see Duby, *Qu’est-ce que la société féodale?*, pp. 1051–107.

² Robert de Clari, trans. by McNeal, pp. 53–54, 102–3; Robert de Clari, ed. Lauer, p. 115; Norwich, *Byzantium*, p. 136; Ebersolt, p. 35; Anna Comnena, III.1 (p. 105). For further information on the city’s architecture, see Colliot, ‘Fascination de l’or’, pp. 93–101, 103–6. For a map of Constantinople, see p. xii.

³ Legros, ‘Connaissance, réception et perceptions’, pp. 112–14; Tobler-Lommatzsch, VI (1965), 461.

⁴ Belting, pp. 164–65; Pioletti, p. 11; Norwich, *Byzantium*, pp. 18, 56; Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 108.

only head of state, but also had the role of nominating the Orthodox patriarch. And in contrast to the itinerant rulers of the West, he lived in Constantinople, which was both the New Rome and the New Jerusalem.⁵ Yet centuries before our period the imperial coronations in Rome of Charlemagne (800) and Otto I (962), events that instigated Carolingian and Ottonian rule, had issued a challenge to this ideology. Moreover, Westerners increasingly designated Byzantines as Greeks, and although this was generally not intended to be hostile, it was often interpreted as such by the Byzantines.⁶

The city, especially Saint Sophia and the palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernae, was a major storehouse of relics and other objects of devotion, many of which were believed to have miraculous powers. As a result of this, religion was often the pretext for the journey east, and a number of descriptions of the relics and sanctuaries of the city circulated in Latin in the West in the first half of the twelfth century. A Greek catalogue, dating from around 1200, of the relics of the chapel of the Bucoleon palace included the relics of the Passion – the Crown of Thorns, True Cross, nails and others – held at Constantinople since the fourth century. The church of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos, located within the Bucoleon palace, contained the relics of the Passion, later stolen by the city's Latin conquerors during the Fourth Crusade. Icons may have been especially unfamiliar to Western eyes. The chronicles of Villehardouin and Clari, written shortly after the Fourth Crusade of 1204, are the first Old French texts to mention icons, as *ancone/ansconne*.⁷

As its patron saint and guardian, the Virgin played a vital part in the religious life of the city. In his *Historia* Nicetas Choniates describes one icon of the Virgin as victorious in imperial triumphs. Another famous icon, that of the Virgin *Theotokos Hodegetria*, supposedly painted by St Luke, was the palladium of Constantinople.⁸ The church of Saint Sophia had been rebuilt by Justinian from 532 to 537. Its marble and porphyry columns, mosaics, huge dome, solid silver iconostasis, altar encrusted with gold and precious stones, huge circular ambo, gold lamps and relics of the True Cross made it an obvious target for Western admiration. Yet although Westerners were

⁵ Belting, pp. 192–93; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', p. 119; Pioletti, pp. 11–14; Hammer, pp. 51–55; Dagrón, pp. 61–62; Kazhdan, I, 252–53, 264, 692–93. See also Diehl, pp. 27–39, 94–111.

⁶ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 1–3, 53–61, 323; Arbagi, pp. ii, 1–26, 49–50, 101–02, 109–10; Norwich, *Byzantium*, pp. 118–20; Kazhdan, I, 649.

⁷ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 29, 47–53, 148; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 103, 112; Riant, *Dépouilles*, pp. 10–18, 27–30; Belting, pp. 21–25, 167–72, 194–95, 526–28; Kazhdan, II, 1779–81; M.-M. Gauthier, pp. 160–63; Coulet, pp. 124, 151–52; Tobler-Lommatszsch, I, 382–83; IV (1960), 1274. See Chapter 4, pp. 113–14.

⁸ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 68; Belting, pp. 513–14; Baldwin, pp. 65–67; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 90, 126; Murray, p. 289; Nicetas Choniates, pp. 12, 89–90.

especially attracted to the city's relics, their attitude could be quite critical in comparison to that of an Orthodox visitor such as Anthony of Novgorod.⁹

Westerners displayed a continued interest in Orthodox theology and liturgy. Western clerics were often sent to official church meetings and councils in order to discuss such theological matters as the procession of the Holy Spirit, the use of leavened bread, and the difference between the nature and person of Christ. Interest in theology extended to a need for Latin translations of the Greek Fathers. From 1153 to 1154 Burgundio of Pisa translated John of Damascus into Latin, and during the same period translations were made of the Liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil. Hugh Etherianus compiled and translated two theological treatises from Greek patristic writers, which exemplify a desire to turn to Greek authorities in order to resolve matters of controversy.¹⁰

Some accounts of journeys to Constantinople written during this period focus on what could be seen outside the palaces and churches. Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, for example, contrasts the palace of Blachernae with the dark and sordid city streets.¹¹ Statues and automata, for which Constantinople was also famous, provided another source of fascination. Monumental statues were rare in Western cities outside Rome, and automata were not known north of the Alps during the twelfth century. And while Classical Latin had the words *automaton* and *automatarius*, there was no equivalent in Old French. The considerable Western interest in Byzantine gold may have been motivated by the relative scarcity of gold in the West.¹² A monument often described in Western texts is an equestrian statue that probably represented the Emperor Justinian I (527–65); it stood in the Forum of the Augustaion between Saint Sophia and the entrance to the Bucoleon palace. The statue held in its left hand a globe with a cross in it, designating the submission of the world to Christ, while its right hand was stretched out eastwards. Many Western accounts emphasize the statue's role as the materialization of Byzantine political and military supremacy.¹³ On the city's

⁹ Norwich, *Byzantium*, pp. 65–66; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 101–2.

¹⁰ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 184–87, 251–63, 322, 347–50; Alverny, pp. 430–33.

¹¹ Odo of Deuil, p. 64; Olschki, pp. 116–17; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, p. 76; C. J. Classen, p. 53; William of Tyre, I.2.7 (pp. 169–71), II.20.23–24 (pp. 943–46); Macrides, pp. 196–97. For descriptions of Constantinople in Western accounts of the crusades, see Kazhdan, I, 560–61; Ebersolt, pp. 32–33, 36–40.

¹² Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 58–64; Camille, pp. 260–61; Kazhdan, I, 235; Bancourt, pp. 31–34; Dufeil, p. 142; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', pp. 106–07, 122–23; Trannoy, pp. 228–29.

¹³ Gautier d'Arras and Robert de Clari both describe it as a statue of the Emperor Heraclius: see Chapter 2, pp. 44–45; Chapter 4, pp. 115, 125. For translated extracts from travellers' accounts that mention this monument, see Vin, II, 547–698. For later medieval descriptions of the statue, see my 'Reconstructing Byzantine Constantinople', pp. 303–4.

many columns were inscribed prophecies predicting foreign invasions and other disasters.¹⁴

Just as important a factor influencing Western perception of Byzantium was the literary reception of earlier periods of Byzantine history. The *Book of Ceremonies*, written at least in part by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–59), is a codification of court ceremony and ritual that defined the exalted role of the emperor. The ritual accorded scant respect to Western visitors, and a number of rules had to be observed: emperor and empress were acclaimed; in their presence silence had to be observed, as did *proskynesis*, or kneeling with one's head touching the ground, and the emperor was the only one allowed to remain seated. The text is cited several times in Western sources and there may well have been several copies circulating in the West, although only one manuscript is extant.¹⁵ Solomon was seen in Byzantium as a model of a king, magician, priest and builder. Justinian's rebuilding of Saint Sophia was intended to surpass his architectural achievements. Such emulation also found expression in the throne of Solomon, installed by the Emperor Theophilus (829–42) in the Triclinium, a hall in the Magnaura palace, to the northeast of the Bucoleon palace. The throne is described in the second half of the tenth century by the eyewitness Liutprand of Cremona:

Before the emperor's seat stood a tree, made of bronze gilded over, whose branches were filled with birds, also made of gilded bronze, which uttered different cries, each according to his varying species. The throne itself was so marvellously fashioned that at one moment it seemed a low structure, and at another it rose high into the air. It was of immense size and was guarded by lions, made either of bronze or of wood covered over with gold, who beat the ground with their tails and gave a dreadful roar with open mouth and quivering tongue. [...] At my approach the lions began to roar and the birds to cry out, each according to its kind; but I was neither terrified nor surprised, for I had previously made enquiry about all these things from people who were well acquainted with them. So after I had three times made obeisance to the emperor with my face upon the ground, I lifted my head, and behold! The man whom just before I had seen sitting on a moderately elevated seat had now changed his raiment and was sitting on the level of the ceiling. How it was done I could not imagine, unless perhaps he was lifted up by some such sort of device as we use for raising the timbers of a wine press.^{16*}

See also Fourrier, pp. 246–51; Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', pp. 97–98; Ebersolt, pp. 29–30; Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 107; Clari, ed. Lauer, p. 116.

¹⁴ Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 110–11; Dagron, pp. 143–56; Ivánka, pp. 19–20.

¹⁵ Belting, p. 184; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 53–61; Bompaire, pp. 235, 241–45; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', pp. 111–12; Pioletti, pp. 14–16.

¹⁶ Liutprand of Cremona, trans. Wright, VI.5, p. 153; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', p. 109. See also Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 60, 88–89; Ebersolt, p. 31.

The levitation of the throne, the presence of tree, bird and lion automata, and the simulation of wind all stress the emperor's role as *cosmocrator*. By the twelfth century the throne no longer existed in the form described by Liutprand, but a distorted memory of it may be preserved in Western texts.¹⁷ An element of magic is also present in Byzantine texts that describe the games held at the Hippodrome and mention magic shows which simulated storms and sent the audience to sleep.¹⁸

As we have seen, diverse aspects of the topography and ideology of Constantinople (whether historical or fictional) were a source of particular interest and fascination for Westerners during our period. But the interrelationship between imitation of Byzantium (*aemulatio*) and Western renewal (*renovatio*) was complex, and the concept of *translatio* was used to express the tension that is played out between them.

Orienting Constantinople: *aemulatio* and *renovatio*

What did the concept of renewal mean in the twelfth century, and in particular renewal effected through East–West relations? Openness to political and cultural contact with Byzantium of the kind outlined in the last section can involve a variety of different intellectual stances or positions. At one extreme there is *admiratio*, or admiration of Byzantium as a site of cultural difference, and I will discuss this in more detail later when I introduce the idea of the city as utopia. Distinct from this, although fuelled by it, is *aemulatio* or imitation, the ultimate aim of which is Western renewal or *renovatio*. This emphasis on the desire to efface the model, as the motive force behind *aemulatio*, seems to lie behind Peter Brown's critique of over-emphasis on Byzantine influence, a critique that Krijnie N. Ciggaar has endorsed in her discussion of contributions to the debate on the role of Byzantium as a source of inspiration for the West.¹⁹ Hence at the other extreme from *admiratio* lies *renovatio*, a term

¹⁷ Cizek, p. 85; Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 56–58, 316–17; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 53–61; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', pp. 112–14, 120–21; Norwich, *Byzantium*, p. 136.

¹⁸ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 58–64; Legros, 'Connaissance, réception et perceptions', pp. 114–15; Ebersolt, p. 29.

¹⁹ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 7–10, 12–16, 92–93, 100–1. I have adopted Ciggaar's use of this terminology to describe the relationship between attitudes to Byzantium and Western renewal. Ciggaar charts a chronological progression from *admiratio* in the tenth century to *renovatio* in the twelfth. My approach follows this historicization, extending it into the thirteenth century and asking how *renovatio* differed then. But it also takes these terms as emblems of intellectual positions that transcend historical boundaries. For the idea that the desire for Western renewal lies at the root of imitation of Byzantium, see *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Benson and Constable, p. xxii. For the distinction between admiration and imitation, see Robertson, pp. 18–19.

which highlights the need for independent renewal of the West. One of the ways of underlining a progression from *aemulatio* to *renovatio* was through the twelfth-century political concept of *translatio*, the idea that civilization moves westwards, derived from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and from Alcuin.²⁰

The metaphors in which political and social renewal were couched, and in particular the aristocratic and monarchic renewal enabled by East–West relations, were rooted in contemporary thought. Twelfth-century renewal involved an impression of newness and modernity that acknowledged its dependence on historical continuity and tradition. Laurence Harf-Lancner has questioned whether it could be said that the Middle Ages had an idea of progress, other than moral progress towards salvation.²¹ I prefer the term renewal to progress. Renewal contains within itself the concept of the cyclic nature of history and allows a concomitant sense of decadence. A common metaphor used to express the imitative renewal of the twelfth century was that of dwarfs who see further because they are sitting on the shoulders of giants, found in Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches and others. In the *Metalogicon* John of Salisbury notes its popularity:

Bernard of Chartres used to compare us to [puny] dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants. He pointed out that we see more and farther than our predecessors, not because we have keener vision or greater height, but because we are lifted up and borne aloft on their gigantic stature.^{22*}

Different types of renewal were often closely interrelated, and metaphors expressing natural processes were fused with a legacy of political and spiritual renewal. Bernard Silvestris, in his literary myth of creation known as the *Cosmographia* (also called *De mundi universitate*), provides a synthesis of Neo-Platonism in a Christian humanist context, as in the Chartrian school and in Boethius, which aims at interpreting the world with recourse to reason rather than revelation. In the *Cosmographia* he uses the term *reformare* to compare how, just as the universe as macrocosm must be formed from chaotic matter, man the microcosm, though mortal, must be reformed towards the divine. In the *De planctu naturae* by Alan of Lille, Nature says that God's ability to renew man exceeds her own:

‘Man by my working is born, by the might of God is born again. Through me he is called from not being into being; through Him he is led from being

²⁰ Frappier, pp. 17–21.

²¹ Harf-Lancner, p. 9.

²² John of Salisbury, trans. McGarry, III.4 (p. 167).

on into a better being. For through me man is begotten unto death, through Him he is created unto life again.^{23*}

Similarly, Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* (1183) shows, in its scholastic presentation of the journey of human wisdom to God, via Theology and Faith, the influence of the philosophical tradition which read the Neo-Platonist One, Nous and Psyche as an integument of the Trinity. Yet the work continues with Nature creating a new man and God granting him a soul, and ends with the possibility of a golden age on earth. While not entirely an orthodox view, this probably reflected an optimistic interpretation of Christ's injunction in Matthew 5.48 to imitate God's perfection.²⁴ Indeed, the renewal of France which Alan predicts may be a reference to his hopes for the political resurgence of the kingdom through the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1179 and his marriage of 1180, cementing an alliance between France and Flanders.²⁵

Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm of Canterbury are more concerned to stress the Pauline-inspired spiritual renewal of man to God's likeness by divine grace, such renewal being the goal of faith. In the *Sermones super Cantica*, Bernard describes such progressive renewal of the individual to God's likeness through the Word in terms of building metaphors. The eleventh- and twelfth-century 'reform movement' was marked by the building of churches and monasteries, reflecting a spiritual need for the renewal of individuals and institutions. The terminology used to describe such transformation includes *renovatio*, *reformatio*, *transformatio*, *reversio*, *recreatio* and *reflectio*; other metaphors include those of clothing and a seal imprinted on wax.²⁶ In the same sermons Bernard stated that in order to understand the inner meaning of the Song of Songs, the reader had to participate emotionally in it through *experientia*, and effectively become the bride, focusing on the literal surface of events precisely in order to penetrate beyond them.²⁷ Another means of spiritual renewal was individual *imitatio Christi* through the espousal of voluntary poverty, which provided the lay aristocracy of the second half of the twelfth century with an alternative to urban society. Such personal *renovatio* may also have been a means of renewing the social body by analogy with the doctrine of the personal and mystical body of Christ.²⁸

The same distinction between personal and mystical is also to be found

²³ Alan of Lille, trans. Moffat, III.225–30 (p. 30).

²⁴ The outline of aspects of renewal in this paragraph has drawn on the following works: Ladner, 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal', pp. 6–14; Walsh, pp. 117–18, 133–34; Frappier, p. 22.

²⁵ Wilks, p. 144.

²⁶ Constable, pp. 44–47; Bernard of Clairvaux, XIV.5 (p. 77), LXXIV.6 (pp. 457–58); Ephesians 2.14–16, 4.22–25. On the reform movement and the celebration of *Latinitas*, see Rentschler, pp. 112–18.

²⁷ Robertson, pp. 13–14, 260.

²⁸ Bolton, pp. 96–101.

in intellectual writings on kingship, which elaborated what was later to be called the doctrine of the king's two bodies. The two bodies are temporal and eternal, reflecting the king's dual status: on the one hand he is an individual who is part of a group formed by the nobility, and on the other hand he is an anointed representative of the people. The concept of the body politic is underpinned by such a notion of the king's supra-social status. In the *Policraticus* John of Salisbury elaborated his organological concept of the king as the head of, and as acting in the place of, the body politic or *corpus rei publicae*, whose persona he thus bore. This Christological concept of kingship paralleled the identification of the Church, as the *corpus Ecclesiae mysticum*, with the mystical body of Christ. As a metonym of the divine body, the crown is especially important for this ideological underpinning of the kingly role.²⁹ René Girard interprets the concept of the king's two bodies as marking out the king as a prototype of a human being in crisis between the order demanded by his function as a representative of the body politic and the alienation of his status as an individual. This ambivalence at the heart of the kingly role involves a split between authority and power, as Sarah Kay and Dominique Boutet have noted.³⁰

So renewal can be personal and communal, spiritual and political. *Renovatio* through East–West relations is sometimes conveyed by the doctrine of *translatio*, which served to compensate for Western political fragmentation by orienting the East in relation to the West. It was influenced by figural interpretation of the Bible, which had the same function of establishing a connection between two events, as Erich Auerbach has remarked in his essay on the notion of *figura*: ‘*Figura* is something real and historical which announces something else that is also real and historical. The relation between the two events is revealed by an accord or similarity’ (p. 29). *Figura* combines, and provides the middle term between, *littera-historia*, the literal meaning or event related, and *veritas*.³¹ The foundation for such interpretation is to be found in the interrelation of *mundus* and *saeculum* fundamental to the medieval concept of history. It may also have reflected the patristic and scholastic view of the Orient as the origin of life and a symbol of the resurrection.³² In *mappae mundi*, Western man was situated not only spatially on the outer margins, but also temporally at the end of history.³³ Maps are contentious

²⁹ Kantorowicz, pp. 9–78, 90–210, 336–84; Boutet, *Charlemagne et Arthur*, pp. 19–33; Luscombe, p. 47; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, V.2; Canning, pp. 18–20, 111–14; Ullmann, pp. 176–82.

³⁰ Girard, pp. 304–06; Kay, *Political Fictions*, pp. 119–24; Boutet, *Charlemagne et Arthur*, pp. 32–33.

³¹ Auerbach, pp. 29–53.

³² Hugh of St Victor, *De arca Noe morali*, IV.9 (col. 677); *ibid.*, *De vanitate mundi*, IV (col. 720); Boutet, *Formes littéraires*, pp. 53–55.

³³ Deluz, pp. 148, 153–55; Dauphine, pp. 90–91; Delumeau, I, 11–58; Phillips, pp. 178–80; Ramey, pp. 72–74.

and in a sense embody renewal because they record the past history of places and suggest the potential for future change.³⁴ *Translatio* attempts to seek for the unity underlying diversity, embodying a *renovatio* that is to be achieved through *aemulatio*. Here I briefly discuss its different manifestations.³⁵

Otto of Freising attempts to come to grips with the idea of *translatio regni* or *imperii* when he presents human history as the *translatio* of the four universal empires that Jerome's exegesis saw announced in Daniel 7. Otto's emphasis is on the element of change in the temporal progression from East to West rather than the exact identity of the different *regna*. What is important is that, according to Otto, the movement of *regna* is also that of *sapientia/scientia* and *religio*: the different *translatio* topoi are interlinked.³⁶ The idea of *translatio studii* and *militiae* (*clergie* and *chevalerie* respectively) is outlined by Chrétien de Troyes in the prologue to *Cligès*:

Ce nos ont nostre livre apris
Que Grece ot de chevalerie
Le premier los et de clergie,
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
Et de la clergie la somme,
Qui or est en France venue. (vv. 30–35)

This have our books taught us, that Greece had the first honour of chivalry and clerkly knowledge, then chivalry and the essence of clerkly knowledge came to Rome, and has now come to France.

In relation to Constantinople, the topos of *translatio militiae* also legitimizes the knightly class by stressing Greek cowardice. The topos of *translatio imperatorum* is used in the *Kaiserchronik* to represent the Byzantine emperors Heraclius (610–41) and Justinian as originally Roman and Western. Gautier d'Arras's *Eracle* draws on a tradition about Heraclius for the same purpose.³⁷

The topos of *translatio originum*, which traces a foundational movement, deserves to be treated in a little more detail. It is exemplified by the legend of Trojan origins, exploited by twelfth-century authors to underline the origins of their own society, to highlight genealogical and political concerns, and to stress the role of literature in linking past and present through the transmission of knowledge, in a way that combined a number of the topoi we have been discussing. Thus Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* gives Troy an

³⁴ Hiatt, p. 73.

³⁵ The following discussion of the different types of *translatio* has drawn on Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 93–99. Other variations of this motif not discussed below are *translatio religionis* and *translatio iuris* or *legum*.

³⁶ P. Classen, pp. 401–2; Barber, pp. 1–2, 437; Otto of Freising, I, Prologus (p. 12); IV.5 (p. 310); Boutet, 'De la *translatio imperii* à la *finis saeculi*', pp. 37–38. For Augustine's discussion of Daniel 7, see *De civitate Dei*, XVIII.2.

³⁷ Huby, pp. 182–90.

etiological role, projecting contemporary values onto Trojan society in order to legitimize and sanction them. Its sources, whose authority was guaranteed by the fact that they were thought to be eyewitness accounts, significantly blame the war on the Greeks.³⁸ Similarly, in the *Historia Constantinopolitana*, at the end of a long poem comparing the Fourth Crusade favourably with the Trojan War, Gunther of Pairis concludes as follows: ‘Therefore, let the ancient fable of the Trojan War cease; | Let new deeds of splendid triumph be recounted.’^{39*} Other texts develop the topos of lazy, cowardly, arrogant and effeminate contemporary Greeks, and attribute this to exhaustion as a result of the Trojan War.⁴⁰ It seems that in relation to Byzantium *translatio* served to act as a brake on *admiratio*. Ciggaar suggests that a general admiration for Byzantine culture went hand in hand with the need for an ideology, provided by *translatio*, which would act as a defence mechanism and provide the basis for a *renovatio* that represented a peaceful victory over Byzantium:

The complex of *translationes* [...] was a non-aggressive and intelligent way of appropriating a Byzantine heritage to which the West felt entitled in more than one way. The sometimes covert admiration for the Greeks of Antiquity, for Byzantium and for Palestine [...] was compensated for by the idea that all its positive attributes and features had migrated to the West. [...] The ambivalence of this ideology may have escaped those who were active in propagating it. It was a sort of defence system, or rather fortification, for use against the Byzantines and their pretensions.⁴¹

Chrétien de Troyes’s *Cligès* could in a sense be viewed as the crowning achievement of this peaceful victory of the West, since it shifts the model city westwards. The renewal of Constantinople is achieved through a genealogical link to the West. This is similar to the use of the topos of *translatio imperatorum* in Gautier d’Arras’s *Eracle*, but the differences between these texts are yet more striking. In *Eracle*, the hero’s movement from West to East is a move from his native Rome to a spiritual inheritance that proves to be more lasting. In *Cligès*, it is the hero’s biological origins in the West that renew the corrupt East – Byzantium looks to Arthur’s court for a model, and it is Byzantium, not the West, that is renewed, through the couple’s return to political life and accession to the empire.⁴²

³⁸ Boutet, *Formes littéraires*, pp. 56–74; Possamaï-Perez, p. 99. For the use of typological and genealogical models in medieval historiography, see Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 83–98.

³⁹ Gunther of Pairis, trans. Andrea, p. 113; Swietek, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Walter Map, pp. 154, 178–79; Kazhdan, II, 1293–94; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 19; Barber, pp. 493–94.

⁴¹ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 92–93, 99–101 (p. 99).

⁴² On motifs of renewal in *Cligès*, see Varty, pp. 195–200 (p. 200); Boutet, ‘De la *translatio imperii* à la *finis saeculi*’, pp. 43–44. Seidel has noted that *Cligès* underpins the

However ambivalent, the concept of *translatio* allowed political communities to feel that they were building on the idea of a Graeco-Roman heritage, but at the same time acknowledged the need to go beyond and supersede it. The prologue to *Cligès* is unambiguous since it sets out a direct transfer from Rome to France. Otto of Freising, however, has problems making the idea of the transfer of civilization correspond to the reality of political authority as it is embodied in different cities. Although on the one hand he seems to assert that the continuing Roman Empire was transferred first to the Byzantines, and then to the Franks and Germans, elsewhere he is unsure how to insert the foundation of Constantinople by the emperor Constantine into the doctrine of *translatio*. He certainly has difficulty in reconciling political ideology (transfer *sub Romano nomine*) with the authority of the many *regna* and the concurrent existence of different *sedes regni*.⁴³

The texts in my corpus are concerned with the achievement of Western *renovatio*, and present contact with Byzantium as a means towards this goal. They deal with this issue – and, to use Ciggaar’s term, raise up a fortification against Byzantium – by distinguishing sharply between the ways and means in which East and West came into contact, on the one hand, and the city of Constantinople as a political and social body rooted firmly in time and space, on the other. In other words, they make a distinction between renewal and utopia.

Moral and mural collapse: the Augustinian city

In the last section I looked at how the relationship between *aemulatio* and *renovatio* may shed some light on the complexity of East–West relations. In particular, the doctrine of *translatio* carries within it a tension between the idea of the transfer of civilization and the spatial and temporal location of a given city. In this section I demonstrate how an analysis of the Augustinian roots and subsequent reinterpretations of the role of the city in medieval thought can help us to address the implications of using motifs of urban representation to represent renewal. I begin with examples whose definition of the relationship between Rome and Constantinople will help to bring out the main problem that the city poses.

The late-ninth-century anonymous ‘Versus Romae’ calls Constantinople the New Rome, equating the collapse of buildings in the old Rome with

universality of the Western nobility by showing that *translatio* has taken place to Arthur’s court. See pp. 49–56, 95–108, 122. Pierreville compares the adultery episode of *Eracle*, set in Rome, with the Constantinople episode of *Cligès*, on the basis of their common use of the topos of the woman in the tower (pp. 58–60).

⁴³ Otto of Freising, I, Prologus (pp. 10, 14); V, Prologus (p. 372); V.36 (p. 428); P. Classen, pp. 401–2.

moral collapse: ‘Flourishing Constantinople is now styled the newer Roma, | Moral and mural collapse is, ancient Roma, thy lot.’^{44*} Two points emerge from this. First, the poem distinguishes between the political and moral *mores* and the material *muri* (in the original Latin, rendered here by the homonyms *moral* and *mural* respectively), but sees them as inextricably linked: the decline of the old Rome involves the collapse of both, since the city is a combination of walls and citizens. Isidore of Seville, following Cicero, similarly sees the city as made up of both *civitas* and *urbs*, taking up the position of an onlooker outside the city: ‘*Civitas* is a group of men brought together by the bond of association; it is named after *cives* (‘citizens’), that is, after the residents of the *urbs*, for *urbs* itself designates the walls, but it is not the stones but the inhabitants that are termed *civitas*.’^{45*} Second, in his discussion of the ‘Versus Romae’, Ernst Kantorowicz suggests that the poet sees the idea of Rome as something more than a combination of *urbs* and *civitas*. Joseph Comblin’s theological approach has also stressed that cities are not merely ‘des constructions de pierres, des concentrations d’hommes’. Whereas Kantorowicz privileges an interpretation of the poem as a eulogy of Constantinople, William Hammer views it as a lament at the downfall of Rome.⁴⁶ Whichever meaning was intended, it suggests that the idea of the city can be transferred to a new geographical site, allowing the replacement of *Roma vetusta* by *nova Roma*.

This ambivalence of urban imagery is graphically depicted in the representation of Rome and Constantinople in ‘Peutinger’s Table’ (Plate 1, (a) and (b) respectively). This map shows routes that were known under the late third-century Roman Empire, and is now extant only in a twelfth-century copy. These illustrations are concerned with the political role of the city, and the latter is identified not so much by geographical position as by guardian divinities. Rome is enthroned and crowned, holding a globe and sceptre, while Constantinople wears a helmet, holds spear and shield, and points to a triumphal column.⁴⁷ Rome is characterized by its unifying function as the focus of a centripetal ideology, where order and unity are maintained through the assimilation of what is different. Constantinople, on the other hand, is defined by its marginality and by what it has not assimilated. The portrait of Rome provides a striking illustration of the medieval faith in terrestrial order as a microcosm and mirror of divine order, while that of Constantinople acknowledges that the earthly city is unfinished. In ‘Peutinger’s Table’ city walls connote stasis and unity (attributes of order), but they do so by pointing

⁴⁴ Kantorowicz, p. 82.

⁴⁵ See Frugoni, pp. 3–4; Orselli, p. 181.

⁴⁶ Kantorowicz, pp. 82–86; Comblin, p. 123. On the distinction between *urbs* and *civitas*, see also C. J. Classen, p. 34; Wataghin, pp. 154–55.

⁴⁷ M.-M. Gauthier, p. 67. See also Lavedan, pp. 9–10, pl. II.1; Frugoni, pp. 4–18.



(a)



(b)

1. 'Peutinger's Table' (southern Germany, twelfth century). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 324, segment IV (a) and VIII (b), depicting Rome and Constantinople respectively.

beyond themselves, either to assimilate (Rome) or to hold back (Constantinople) what is beyond them.

Hence the problem posed by the city lies in the fact that communities must be spatially and geographically organized, but the notion of community itself exceeds this spatial delimitation of the city. Patristic writing tends to reflect this by making a moral identification of the city with the *civitas*, defining this not as the inhabitants of a given city but as a community that transcends space and time. Augustine's elaboration of the concept of the two cities is undoubtedly the most famous paradigm in medieval thought. It was

informed by Christian and Classical models of urban organization, founded on the concept of a political, religious and social community of men. Cicero's definition of *ordo* in *De officiis* and *De republica* as the peace and virtue which maintain the organization of the universe, and his insistence that man was naturally social and civic, was taken up by patristic writers and is found in *De civitate Dei*. Medieval political vocabulary was imprecise, however, and many different terms were used to express the idea of men united with a common aim.⁴⁸

Augustine uses the metaphorical cities of Jerusalem and Babylon, *civitas Dei (peregrina)* and *civitas terrena*, as supra-temporal categories intended to label the twofold destiny of mankind, salvation and damnation.⁴⁹ Similarly, the themes of the New Jerusalem and the City of God as used by the early Christians were not strictly cities, but metaphors that designated the eschatological aim of the Church.⁵⁰ The image of the material city is often used as a metaphor both for worldliness and for harmony beyond the reach of the world. The Biblical representation of the city of Babylon shows it to be the site of human pride, arrogance, idolatry, riches and the desire for domination: it is etymologically associated with the tower of Babel, a symbol of the punishment of earthly pride and the rupture of unity through the diversification of language.⁵¹ In Revelation 17–18, the fall of Babylon manifests the exemplary decay of apparent earthly permanence, connoted by an abundance of wealth, precious stones and goods for trade. But the material city also connotes a permanence that is beyond the reach of the earthly community, as in the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation 21. Augustine's metaphors of city as community, seen in the concept of the *civitas Dei peregrina*, and in the contrast between the terms *peregrinus/viator* and *perventor/possessor*, express his view that the two cities are intermingled and indistinguishable on earth.

Hence we must distinguish between the use of city metaphors to express an eschatological vision of the definitive destinies of mankind, and the inter-relationship between the two cities on earth. In connection with the latter, Augustine's phrase *earthly city* comes at times to be synonymous with 'the world', while at other times it has the more precise meaning of those who live for themselves rather than for God (symbolized most clearly in pagan states such as Babylon).⁵² On earth we are all members of the earthly city, but

⁴⁸ Luscombe, pp. 42–44; N. Gauthier, p. 199; Orselli, pp. 182–83; Michaud-Quantin, p. 111; Duby, pp. 95–96. See also *De civitate Dei*, II.2, XIX.21, XIX.3.

⁴⁹ See for example *De civitate Dei*, XIII.1; Augustine, *City of God*, pp. xviii–xxi. On the notion of the *civitas peregrina*, see recently Clark, p. 156.

⁵⁰ Comblin, pp. 142–55, 307–18; Frugoni, pp. 31–50; C. J. Classen, pp. 30–31.

⁵¹ Comblin, pp. 108–55. See also *De civitate Dei*, XVI.4. For Biblical references to Babylon, see Genesis 11.1–9; Isaiah 13, 21.9, 47; Jeremiah 50–51; for Jerusalem, see Isaiah 49–66; Ezekiel 40–48; Zechariah 8, 14; Micah 4; Hebrews 11.

⁵² *City of God*, p. xx.

some are also members of the City of God, founded by Christ but not coterminous with the institutional Church. This means that the hope for heaven is contained within the earthly city, turning it into an image of the heavenly city:

One part of the earthly city, by symbolising something other than itself, has been made into an image of the Heavenly City; and so it is in bondage, because it was established not for its own sake, but in order to serve as a symbol of another City. [...] We find, therefore, that the earthly city has two aspects. Under the one, it displays its own presence; under the other, it serves by its presence to point towards the Heavenly City. But the citizens of the earthly city are produced by a nature vitiated by sin, while the citizens of the Heavenly City are produced by grace, which redeems nature from sin. [...] In the one case, the ordinary human condition is shown, whereas, in the other, we are reminded of the beneficence of God.

(*City of God*, pp. 636–37)*

Earthly political order is not merely the result of sin: it is an effective palliative. In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine defines the order successively of the household, the city and the Heavenly City: clearly, the former point to the latter (XIX.13). Permanence and peace may thus be glimpsed on earth: but Augustine would stress that this is only a shadow of the real thing. It is what he terms the ‘peace of Babylon’, which is secured by earthly order.⁵³ This figural status of apparent earthly permanence as expressed in city metaphors can aptly be seen in a fifteenth-century miniature illustrating a French translation of *De civitate Dei* (Plate 2, opposite). This depicts the pilgrim city as a true city on earth, albeit hedged round by demons: it mirrors exactly the architectural structure of the heavenly city to which it points, and in this way embodies the desire for renewal.

In accordance with this tradition, Late Antique attitudes to the city combined an appeal to ancient urban civilization with the Early Christian idea of a rupture with urban forms of social organization. This interiorization of a city dialectic is found in Origen, who defines Jerusalem as a community that looks beyond itself: ‘For we, who seem to have an aim that is beyond ourselves, are Jerusalem.’^{54*} The same tension is apparent in the anonymous second-century ‘Epistle to Diognetus’ where Christians are described as alien citizens. Rowan Greer has analysed this tension in attitudes to citizen-

⁵³ See *De civitate Dei*, XVIII.1 and XIX.17, where Augustine states that the City of God dwells in the earthly city as a pilgrim, and XIX.26, where he notes that the pilgrim city makes use of the peace of Babylon although it is delivered from it by faith. See also *City of God*, pp. xxii–xxv.

⁵⁴ See Orselli, p. 183.



2. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, translated into French by Raoul de Presles (1469–73). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 18, fol. 3v.

ship found in Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and Lactantius, terming it a 'marvelous paradox'.⁵⁵

The Augustinian view of history was summarized by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century and conveyed continuously in clerical teaching in the centuries after that. Medieval authors showed an awareness of the tension inherent in the Augustinian model. Some combined it with a Boethian model emphasizing the rule of Fortune and the chaotic mutability of earthly life, by stressing that flux was characteristic of the earthly city.⁵⁶ The model of the two cities was exploited by writers whose activity spans the chronological and geographical extent of my corpus. For example, the theological use of *civitas* and related terms can be found in the writings of William of Auvergne, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. Giacomino da Verona, writing in Lombardy in the late 1260s, wrote didactic poems on the two cities of Jerusalem and Babylon conceived as eschatological realities.⁵⁷

Augustine's point was to stress that earthly order is not sufficient on its own. But in the Middle Ages there was a tendency to identify the *civitas Dei peregrina* with actual institutions. Otto of Freising, for example, writes his chronicle of universal history to record both the flux of the earthly city and the stasis promised in the heavenly city and glimpsed on earth. His emphasis is different from Augustine's: the main theme (a minor theme in Augustine) is the temporal *progressus* of the earthly city, which since Constantine is the history of the *civitas Christi* or *Ecclesia*, combining *imperium* and *sacerdotium*.⁵⁸ By contrast, Augustine's treatment of the theme of the earthly city and the kingdoms into which it is divided is intended to emphasize earthly transience. The eighth of the *Sermoni Subalpini*, 'Christus loquitur in Canticis Canticorum', provides an allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs that identifies the Bridegroom with Constantine, interpreting his Christianization of the Roman Empire as the definitive victory of the peace of Christ.⁵⁹ The symbolic equivalence between the Heavenly Jerusalem and *Ecclesia* was later applied to the Church as a material construction, reflected in the liturgy of the office for the dedication of a church.⁶⁰ Eleventh- and early-twelfth-century reform ideology promoted the monastery in particular as a microcosm and

⁵⁵ Greer, p. 39; Luscombe, pp. 45–46; Ladner, 'Homo Viator', pp. 235–38. For the 'Epistle to Diognetus', see *The Didache*, pp. 125–47 (p. 139).

⁵⁶ Pickering, pp. 5–16.

⁵⁷ Luscombe, pp. 45–46; *Poeti del Duecento*, I, 625–52; Honorius Augustodunensis. For the considerable Augustinian influence on twelfth-century concepts of order and alienation, see Javelet, I, 266–85.

⁵⁸ P. Classen, pp. 400–1; Ladner, 'Homo Viator', p. 244; Otto of Freising, I, Prologus (p. 12); IV.5 (p. 310); Goetz, pp. 89–113.

⁵⁹ Zink, pp. 230, 407; Boutet, *Formes littéraires*, p. 45.

⁶⁰ Frugoni, pp. 23–24.

model of cosmic harmony, after Biblical models of the *hortus conclusus* and the image of social harmony in Acts 4.32.⁶¹

As I have demonstrated in this section, in order for the city to be a means for renewal, it must point to something beyond it. The conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 led to the production of *mappae mundi* showing the city at the geographical as well as religious centre of the world. These often depict the city as divided into four parts within a circle, reflecting medieval architectural theories on the nature of the ideal city and its status as a figure for the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶² Two centuries later, Giordano da Pisa wrote that the desire to travel in order to see all the cities on earth is in fact a desire to see one city only: the Heavenly City.⁶³ The *Sermoni Subalpini* also stress the theological dimensions of travel, sermons 16 and 17 commenting on the theme of the *homo viator* in I Samuel 4 and Exodus 12.⁶⁴ For the Western protagonists of the texts in my corpus, travel to Constantinople can act as a means of renewal, following this dialectical relationship between home city and foreign city. But the Western attitude can also be informed by utopia, whereby the foreign city is itself perceived as a secular equivalent of the Heavenly City.

Disorienting Constantinople: the city as utopia

As we have seen, the walls of Rome and Constantinople in ‘Peutinger’s Table’ point beyond themselves in order to signify more than what is contained within them. But when the city is a utopia, the city wall serves as an indicator of stasis. The Western onlooker’s attitude to the utopia is characterized by lack of understanding rather than by participation.

The notion of utopia is often perceived to be a Renaissance one. Paul Zumthor argues that the Middle Ages had, at best, an emergent utopian idea, not a utopia in the strict sense of the term, defined as ‘a narration with political and moral aims proposing an image of the ideal state situated in an imaginary place’. Although Zumthor argues that the essence of Thomas More’s island of Utopia lies in its totalization of space, and acknowledges that the medieval idea of the city could play a similar compensatory role, he tends to confuse compensation with *renovatio*. In an article on medieval social utopias, F. Graus likewise points out their compensatory role, but emphasizes the ways in which they are different from Renaissance utopias,

⁶¹ Constable, pp. 48–51; P. Classen, p. 402.

⁶² Simek, pp. 121, 129. On places as symbols at the confluence of the real and the imaginary, see Edson, pp. 15–20. On the merging of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem in the period of the crusades, see Schein, pp. 109–57.

⁶³ Giordano da Pisa, pp. 404–5; Frugoni, p. 100.

⁶⁴ Zink, pp. 463–65.

since they seek to fulfil the present desires of man rather than to construct an ideal state free of the errors of the present world.⁶⁵ Raymond Trousson argues that, before Thomas More, utopia was wholly imbued with a sense of the Judaeo-Christian Promised Land, and only with Thomas More was the ideal city built by men, proposing a model opposed to reality and able to transform it.⁶⁶ Although I am not arguing that Constantinople fulfils the same role as Renaissance utopias, I would like to bring out some striking similarities that can shed light on our understanding of East–West relations in my corpus. Trousson’s comment on the function of More’s utopia can also be applied to Constantinople in medieval French texts. My categorization of Constantinople as a utopia is an attempt to define intellectually a particular Western reaction to the city’s status as sole arbiter of Byzantine imperial power both religious and secular.

Two exhibitions shown in Paris a number of years ago presented eschatological visions of harmony as examples of emergent utopian thought, emphasizing the links between them and modern social utopias. The second of these exhibitions – *Visions du futur: une histoire des peurs et des espoirs de l’humanité* (Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 5 October 2000 to 1 January 2001) – was articulated around the notion of future life and constituted an exploration of how different eras and cultures have imagined the future in terms of individual life after death, eschatological harmony or modern dreams of progress. The first exhibition – *Utopie: la quête de la société idéale* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, site François-Mitterrand, 4 April to 9 July 2000) – is the main focus of my discussion. The catalogue for this exhibition contains some important contributions that can aid our understanding of medieval social utopias. Roland Schaer notes that, while the origin of More’s island lies partly in the Christian tradition of paradise, as can be seen in its separation from the rest of the world, it differs from these in its accessibility and its location on earth. For Schaer, what defines utopia is not so much its secular nature or its capacity for self-improvement (the terms of Zumthor’s definition), as its ability to totalize space. Society’s potential for self-improvement is figured in the very distance between the utopia and the onlooker, and that distance is itself utopia: ‘On appellera utopie la distance qu’une société est capable de prendre avec elle-même, pour feindre ce qu’elle pourrait devenir.’⁶⁷ Lyman Tower Sargent defines utopia as a mirror, a definition which, like Schaer’s, stresses utopia’s function of creating fictive distance: ‘C’est un miroir que le présent se tend à lui-même en permanence, pour y surprendre les vices de la société contemporaine.’⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Zumthor, ‘The Medieval Travel Narrative’, pp. 821–22 (p. 821); Graus, pp. 5–6. See also Touraine, pp. 28–30; Frye, pp. 31–35.

⁶⁶ Trousson, pp. 180–81.

⁶⁷ Schaer, pp. 16–19 (p. 19).

⁶⁸ Sargent, p. 26.

For Louis Marin, the frontier between the onlooker and utopia connotes potentiality and perfectibility. He uses the term *frontiers of utopia* as both an objective and a subjective genitive, to express the double nature of utopia as a totalizing yet enclosed and separate space. He links this to the origins of the word *utopia*, fabricated by Thomas More as a Latin neologism from a fictitious Greek word *ou-topia* or *eu-topia*, the first meaning ‘no-place’ or the other of any place, and the second meaning ‘a place where all is well’. The power of the island of Utopia, for Marin, lies in its ability to signify desire for an elsewhere, and it can only do this when it is made fiction in its narration by onlookers from our world.⁶⁹ Noting that utopias are often figured by a circle connoting harmony and stasis, Laurent Gervereau suggests that any introduction of temporality by breaking the circle must lead to disorder and, like Marin, concludes that the utopia can only be fixed textually, making the book ‘l’instrument utopique par excellence’.⁷⁰

Many theories of cultural difference, both medieval and modern, stress the pivotal role played by the onlooker’s lack of understanding in a way that intersects usefully with this debate on utopia. Edward Saïd’s remark that the West sees itself as dominating the weaker Orient clearly needs to be nuanced for a study of the medieval West’s complex attitude to the superior civilization of Byzantium. Similarly, Valentino Petrucci’s comment that the development of utopia is inexorably linked to the progress of European colonialism must also be redefined for the medieval West’s sense of utopia.⁷¹ The notion of a medieval utopia provides us with a way of acknowledging Western inferiority by separating out the experience of wonder from that of possession. In *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, Salman Rushdie revealingly celebrates the experience of personal disorientation as necessary and positive, and describes it using spatial metaphors that suggest utopia:

Disorientation is loss of the East. Ask any navigator: the east is what you sail by. Lose the east and you lose your bearings, your certainties, your knowledge of what is and what may be, perhaps even your life. [...] But let’s just suppose. What if the whole deal – orientation, knowing where you are, and so on – what if it’s all a scam? [...] Suppose that it’s only when you dare to let go that your real life begins? [...] You won’t do it. Most of you won’t do it. [...] But just imagine you did it. You stepped off the edge of the earth, or through the fatal waterfall, and there it was: the magic valley at the end of the universe, the blessed kingdom of the air.

(pp. 176–77)

⁶⁹ L. Marin, pp. 402–3, 407–12, 417–20. See also More, p. xi; Uebel, pp. 8–16, 37–61; Pezzini, pp. 241–44; Fortunati, ‘History’, pp. 286–87.

⁷⁰ Gervereau, pp. 346–52 (p. 346).

⁷¹ Saïd, pp. 40–41; Petrucci, p. 127.

Stephen Greenblatt defines the experience of wonder as mediating between a personal response and the otherness of the world. Such an experience entails the recognition of personal failure: 'To wonder is to experience both the failure of words [...] and the failure of vision, since seeing brings no assurance that the objects of sight actually exist.'⁷² Medieval theories of the marvellous acknowledge such an awareness of distance by stressing the marvel's status as definitively different and ambivalent in a way that combines attitudes of wonder and prejudice. The Aristotelian view defined magic and the marvellous as artificial, hidden and contrary to nature.⁷³ Aquinas's definition of the miracle is so broad as to include anything that works by duplicity or depends upon the ignorance of the onlooker: 'Those things are called miracles when the effects are clear but the causes hidden. Hence something can be wonderful for people who are less knowledgeable, which is not so for the wise, as is evident from eclipses.'^{74*} The idea that wonder precedes knowledge is rooted deep in the medieval tradition.⁷⁵

It seems, therefore, that the medieval utopia, as I have argued, reflects a certain distance and lack of understanding on the part of the onlooker. Its primary effect on the latter, or rather its primary expression, is disorientation.

Intra- and extra-diegetic contemplation of Constantinople

It emerges from the emphasis on looking which we have seen is implicit in both renewal and utopia that the role played by Constantinople is imbricated in its status as a Western textual artefact. Just as the utopia can be fixed textually, as Louis Marin and Laurent Gervereau have suggested, the textual recreation of the foreign city can also lead to renewal. Thus Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* actively participates in a *translatio studii* by taking responsibility for the adaptation and dissemination of a legend celebrating the transfer of courtly values, and thereby rebuilding Troy in twelfth-century France.⁷⁶ Italo Calvino famously defined this specular relationship between home city and alien city in his idea of the implicit, from the imaginary conversation which he sets up between Marco Polo and the Great Khan in *Le città invisibili*:

⁷² Greenblatt, p. 133; see also pp. 19–23, 75–76.

⁷³ Hansen, pp. 485–87; Le Goff, pp. 27–44; Camille, pp. 244–49; see also Noacco, pp. 389–94. The usage of the Old French word *merveille* operates a semantic shift between the act of marvelling and the marvellous object. For example, it can mean both 'surprise' or 'amazement' (*grant merveille ot*) and 'wonderful event' (*tenir a merveille*). See Tobler-Lommatzsch, V (1963), 1535–46.

⁷⁴ See Camille, p. 244.

⁷⁵ Greenblatt, p. 24.

⁷⁶ Baumgartner; Benoît de Sainte-Maure, vv. 129–37. On the West's 'textual attitude' to the Orient, see Saïd, p. 92.

‘Sire, ormai ti ho parlato di tutte le città che conosco.’
 ‘Ne resta una di cui non parli mai. [...] Venezia’, disse il Kan.
 Marco sorrise. ‘E di che altro credevi che ti parlassi?’
 L’imperatore non batté ciglio. ‘Eppure non ti ho mai sentito fare il suo nome.’
 E Polo, ‘Ogni volta che descrivo una città dico qualcosa di Venezia.’
 ‘Quando ti chiedo d’altre città, voglio sentirti dire di quelle. E di Venezia, quando ti chiedo di Venezia.’
 ‘Per distinguere le qualità delle altre, devo partire da una prima città che resta implicita. Per me è Venezia.’ (p. 88)

‘Sire, now I have told you about all the cities I know.’
 ‘There is still one of which you never speak. [...] Venice’, the Khan said.
 Marco smiled. ‘What else do you believe I have been talking to you about?’
 The emperor did not turn a hair. ‘And yet I have never heard you mention that name.’
 And Polo said, ‘Every time I describe a city I am saying something about Venice.’
 ‘When I ask you about other cities, I want to hear about them. And about Venice, when I ask you about Venice.’
 ‘To distinguish the other cities’ qualities, I must speak of a first city that remains implicit. For me it is Venice.’⁷⁷

Marco Polo’s vision of the implicit city of Venice is a model first of all for the extra-diegetic distortion and mirroring that the texts’ Western authors bring to the Byzantine capital. Second, it is also a model for the ideological baggage that the texts’ Western protagonists bring to their intra-diegetic contemplation of Constantinople. This study constitutes an intellectual mapping of the positions available in Western thinking (Italo Calvino’s *implicit*) and the ways in which they apply to attitudes to Constantinople as these are reflected in medieval French texts. The intra-diegetic relationship portrayed in all of the texts between the Western protagonists and the city of Constantinople governs the role the city plays as utopia and as means for renewal. A recent study has also taken this approach to medieval French texts and the problem of otherness: Lynn Tarte Ramey’s study focuses on the interethnic couple as a crystallization of medieval France’s growing concern with defining its borders, language, religion and values at a time when Self and Other were not yet clearly defined.⁷⁸

Mirroring a dialectic: three literary genres

That I focus on selected examples of the three vernacular genres popular during the period in question deserves some extended comment. Gabrielle

⁷⁷ Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, p. 86.

⁷⁸ Ramey, p. 2.

Spiegel has noted the close ties between the generic evolution of Old French historiography and the fictional genres of epic and romance, and suggested that vernacular chronicles should be viewed as one of many vernacular genres.⁷⁹ The decision to limit myself to narrative genres excluded crusade lyric (*chansons de croisade*), such as those composed by Huon de Saint-Quentin, Jaufré Rudel and Conon de Béthune. The problem of textual closure necessitated the exclusion of encyclopaedic works, and pseudo-historical prose compilations such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (1274 onwards), or the *Chronique rimée* of Philippe Mousket (mid-thirteenth century), both of which include legends about Charlemagne's dealings with Byzantium that the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, a text that I have included, also draws on.⁸⁰

Because I have chosen to concentrate on Constantinople itself, I was also obliged to exclude texts about Ancient Greece, the most famous twelfth-century examples of which are probably Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (1165), the *Roman de Thèbes* (c. 1150), the *Roman d'Alexandre* and Aimon de Varennes's *Florimont* (1188). There are studies on these texts that demonstrate an awareness of the same debate with which I will be concerned.⁸¹ I have likewise left out thirteenth-century prose compilations of ancient history such as the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*.⁸²

Since the purpose of my book is to examine how the texts enable Western renewal by setting up a relationship with Byzantium, I do not consider texts that do not portray the relationship between East and West as a means for Western renewal. The following texts operate in reverse order to that outlined above, beginning in Constantinople and moving westwards. The narrative of the *Belle Hélène de Constantinople* (thirteenth century) begins in the East and moves westwards, with the heroine fleeing her incestuous father to escape to England and marry the king, only to become embroiled in her mother-in-law's machinations; in Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès* the East draws its inspiration from the West, as I will outline in more detail in Chapter 1; *Galien le Restoré* (thirteenth century) continues the story of the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* by imagining a liaison between the Frankish peer Oliver and the Byzantine emperor's daughter and recounting their son's eventual journey to the West in search of his birth father. I have also rejected texts set wholly in Constantinople such as the *Dit de l'empereur Constant* (late thirteenth

⁷⁹ *The Past as Text*, p. 182; Nichols, 'The Interaction of Life and Literature', p. 68.

⁸⁰ For crusade lyric, see Bossuat, pp. 327–29, 708–9, 741–42; *Les Chansons de croisade* (see pp. 119–41 for lyric relating to the Fourth Crusade). For compilations of Carolingian history, see Bossuat, pp. 296–98, 1146–47, 1159–60; *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, III (1923), 58–59, 97, 125, 130–32, 140–41, 160–98, 172–75.

⁸¹ For Byzantine influence on the representation of Troy as an ideological model for the West, see Seidel, pp. 119–23. On Troy as a site of cultural difference, see Eley, 'The Myth of Trojan Descent', pp. 37, 40.

⁸² Bossuat, pp. 27, 81–82, 108, 139–40, 684–85, 688–89, 1278, 1306–7, 1315–17; Holmes, pp. 137–45, 148–49, 256–57.

century). Similarly, texts that present Constantinople purely as an enemy of the West were also not directly relevant: these include Gautier d'Arras's *Ille et Galeron*, and *Florence de Rome* (thirteenth century).⁸³ Other texts that I have chosen not to include, although they do portray Constantinople as a model, did not contain the extensive representation of the Byzantine capital or of East–West relations necessary for my purpose. These include the following: the *Comte de Poitiers* (c. 1222); *Doon de la Roche* (late twelfth century); *Floriant et Florete* (thirteenth century); *Jourdain de Blaye* (late twelfth or early thirteenth century); Wace, *Roman de Rou* (1160 to 1170s); *Guillaume de Palerne* (early thirteenth century); and *Gui de Warewic* (1232–42). For the same reason I have rejected other crusade chronicles and epics, such as the *Chanson d'Antioche* (late twelfth century); the French translation of William of Tyre, known as the *Estoire* or *Roman d'Eracles*, and its various continuations (1220–77); and the *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* by Henri de Valenciennes (early thirteenth century).⁸⁴ The selective nature of this study will be readily apparent from the length of this list. At the same time, the list gives an idea of the literary context within which my corpus operates and of which it constitutes a small but significant part.

I chose a restricted number of texts within the selected genres in order to treat each in detailed fashion. The three *chansons de geste* chosen (the *Pèlerinage*, *Girart* and *Macario*) are all concerned with a relationship of alliance or rivalry between the Frankish king and the Byzantine emperor, and explore the consequences of this for Western renewal, in the first two cases using the *translatio* topos. The romances (*Eracle*, *Partonopeus* and *Marques*) all recount individual Western heroes' integration into Constantinople. In the last two cases this is achieved through marriage either to the empress of Byzantium or to a female relative of the Byzantine emperor, and in the first two it results in the hero himself becoming emperor of Constantinople. In Chapter 2 I look in more detail at the relevance of the distinction between epic and romance for the debate I am analysing, but for the moment I simply note Simon Gaunt's observation that 'one important difference between the two genres lies in their treatment of the differentiation of the male individual and the concomitant problem of otherness'.⁸⁵ The generic distinction needs to be borne in mind in any study evaluating the social networks and notions of community in which renewal may be embodied. All three historical chronicles

⁸³ Bossuat, pp. 137–38, 271–72, 405, 450, 480, 488, 637–38; Holmes, pp. 150–51, 155–56, 169–70, 227, 263, 324–25.

⁸⁴ Bossuat, pp. 222, 323, 356–60, 389, 452–53, 648, 676–77, 872, 1498–99; Holmes, pp. 99–100, 115–16, 123–24, 128–29, 271–72, 277. For a guide to the frequency of Constantinople as a toponym in Old French and Franco-Italian romances, *chansons de geste* and chronicles, see Appendix 2; Flutre; pp. ix–xvi, 226; Moisan, I, 31–64; II, 1118–19; III, 9–72, 692–93; IV, 9–60, 555. The reader is referred to these works for relevant texts not mentioned above.

⁸⁵ *Gender and Genre*, p. 73.

cles (the texts by Clari, Villehardouin and Canal) take the Fourth Crusade as their subject matter. The poems by Rutebeuf were included because of their illuminating use of the *translatio* topos and attitude to the Fourth Crusade. Some of the key themes with which the corpus as a whole is concerned include the Fourth Crusade, chivalry, the marriage alliance (including the use of the fairy mistress and calumniated wife motifs), and the *translatio* topos in its various manifestations.

In refining the scope and emphasis of my corpus I was influenced by the premise that texts from different traditions all participate in the same debate or discourse, which transcends questions of genre. An article by Sara Sturm-Maddox and Donald Maddox has argued for the analysis of the *intergeneric*, a term that expresses rhetorical and stylistic concepts that cross the boundaries of genre, instead of merely redefining generic categories. In the same volume, Kathryn Gravdal stresses the intergeneric as well as intertextual relationship that exists between texts, and notes that a text may suggest genres other than the principal generic system (or *dominant*) in which it operates. The other mediating traditions are called the *interpretants*, and their role is to encourage a reinterpretation of the dominant genre.⁸⁶ My study of the representation of Constantinople as renewal and utopia in medieval texts is a contribution to such intergeneric analysis as theorized by these critics. Renewal is a process whose ambiguities the texts depict through a geographical interplay between East and West, the analysis of which can shed light on the role of the generic motifs attached to the representation of the city. To take one example from a recent study, changes at a thematic level in the depiction of Christian-Saracen couples in medieval texts mirror changes on the texts' structural level.⁸⁷

The twelfth century saw the widespread dissemination of an image of Constantinople marked not only by political and religious differences but also, and above all, by the city's identity as a desirable ally which inspired awe in Western visitors. The dialectical relationship between *aemulatio* of a Byzantine model and the *renovatio* of the West, more rarely of Byzantium, expresses the potential for earthly cities and social structures to renew themselves, and may sometimes be conveyed through the medieval political concept of *translatio*. This has a significant impact on the representation of the city. When Constantinople is a focus for Western renewal, the frontier is the site of a tension that ultimately hopes to overcome its limitations by moving beyond itself: the Western relationship with Constantinople becomes not only an expression of the Augustinian paradox of the pilgrim city, but also a solution for it. When Constantinople is represented as a utopia, the difference that it

⁸⁶ Sturm-Maddox and Maddox, pp. 4–8; Gravdal, pp. 10–12; *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, p. xxv.

⁸⁷ Ramey, pp. 5–6.

embodies is admired and celebrated as categorical, stressing the presence of a static frontier between East and West that exposes the fissures in Western society. The next chapter will set out and discuss this distinction between renewal and utopia in two twelfth-century texts that exploit the motif of the *translatio* of relics as a means for renewal, and look at the implications of this distinction for the generic status of the texts and for their relationship with the context in which they arose.

Renewal and Utopia: Two Paradigms for Understanding East–West Relations in Medieval French Texts

In Chapter 1 I outlined the implications of the concepts of renewal and utopia for an analysis of the relationship between the West and Constantinople in medieval texts. These concepts can be seen to be elaborated in two fictional texts probably produced in the third quarter of the twelfth century, the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*.¹ Both of these texts bring into play two motifs: the relics motif, narrating the renewal of a city or cities through the involvement of its ruler in the translation of relics from Jerusalem; and the rivalry motif, recounting the defeat of an enemy city. These motifs enable the ruler's relationship with spiritual authority to be achieved and maintained, and shed light on the nature of kingly authority and power. The different ways in which the two texts exploit these motifs exemplify the distinction between renewal and utopia in the literary presentation of East–West relations. By exploring these motifs I aim to lay the groundwork for future discussion by establishing the two paradigms according to which East–West relations can be understood in medieval French texts. By examining the texts' generic status, and looking at traditions about the emperor Heraclius and the legend of Charlemagne's journey to the Orient, I aim to locate better the originality and purpose of the texts' representation of East–West relations.

The Emperor Heraclius as hero and saint

Gautier d'Arras's *Eracle* narrates how the hero Eracle (the Byzantine emperor Heraclius), born and brought up in Rome, rescued the relic of the True Cross and became emperor of Constantinople. As Karen Pratt has argued, it is likely

¹ The editions used are: Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle*, ed. Pratt; *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ed. Burgess. However, I have used English inverted commas for speech in quoting from *Eracle*, whereas Pratt used French ones. I have also consulted the earlier edition of *Eracle* by Raynaud de Lage. In this chapter, translations are from the editions used. The dates of these two texts are open to discussion and will be briefly examined as they are of significance for my argument.

that *Eracle* preceded *Ille et Galeron*, Gautier's other work, in its entirety, despite Anthime Fourier's earlier theory that the composition of the two works was intertwined. It is therefore probable, on the basis of internal references to Marie de Champagne (mentioned in *Eracle*, vv. 6527–28, as having encouraged Gautier to write the work) and Beatrice of Burgundy (praised in the prologue to the *P* and *W* redactions of *Ille et Galeron*), that *Eracle* was composed between 1164, the date on which Marie became Countess of Champagne,² and 1184, the death of Beatrice. As the internal references to the work's patronage by Thibaut of Blois are ambiguous, referring either to Thibaut IV or to Thibaut V, it is not possible to date the work more precisely. Towards the end of the 1170s the house of Blois-Champagne supported the idea of a crusade to help the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, and a work celebrating the deeds of Heraclius would certainly have been welcome in such a context, but this cannot be proved. Nor can the identity of Gautier be ascertained, though he may have been linked with Provins, where the counts of Champagne often held court, and where two annual fairs coincided with the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross.³

The structural and thematic division of the text has been a major critical focus. Edmond Faral proposes a bipartite division based on a distinction between the hero's life in Rome and the events subsequent to his election to the throne of Constantinople. Norris J. Lacy, Penny Eley, David S. King and Guy Raynaud de Lage suggest a tripartite division, although they admit that the divisions are flexible.⁴ I follow Eley and Raynaud de Lage in making a distinction between the childhood and court parts of the Rome episode, but essentially I propose a bipartite division based on the contrast between Rome and Constantinople. It is my contention that an analysis of the theme of renewal can highlight the nature of the link between the two parts of the narrative. A comparison is drawn between Eracle's saintly childhood and life at the court of Rome, and this parallel enables the urban renewal that is the focus of the final part of the text (concerned with the relics motif). The quasi-hagiographical episode narrating Eracle's childhood illuminates the significance of his later *imitatio Christi*; while the text's critique of the Roman court centres on the earthly exploitation of talent and introduces the combination of faith and sinfulness that characterizes the text's later urban communities.

² Pratt and Benton cite the date of Marie's marriage as 1159, but Fourier has 1164 (p. 185).

³ *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, pp. vii–xiii.

⁴ Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', p. 514; Lacy, pp. 228–29, 231–32; Eley, 'Patterns of Faith and Doubt', pp. 258–59; Raynaud de Lage, pp. 707–8, 713; King, 'The Voice from Within', pp. 245–46. Pierreville also notes the distinction between the Rome and Constantinople episodes, and draws attention to three themes: faith and humility and the quest (pp. 88–90, 120–28).

In the episode of Eracle's conception, his parents' prayer for a child is answered when an angel comes to his mother as she sleeps and tells her to take a carpet and silk cloth from him and put them on the floor. Her husband is to put on his coat and follow his wife's instructions (vv. 139–62). Here Gautier introduces one of the text's principal themes, that of faith:

'Car Dix le dist: en ceste nuit
Engendrera en toi tel fruit
Dont toute Rome joie ara;
Çou ert uns fix, qui plus sara
Que nus hom qui el siecle soit.
Ne puet perir qui en Diu croit.' (vv. 165–70)

'[...] for this was God's command that on this night he will beget in you a fruit that will bring joy to the whole of Rome; this will be a son, who will know more than any man alive today. Whoever believes in God will be saved.'

The focus here is on the faith of the hero's mother, who does not see Eracle's rise to success; nor is she told that the backdrop for it is not ultimately to be Rome. The scene may have recalled the conception of John the Baptist (Luke 1.5–25, 57–66), or the Incarnation itself (Luke 1.26–56), a parallel that is suggested by the hint of theophany in Eracle's mother's obedience to the angel's instructions. Anthime Fourrier has noted that it may reflect an element of Byzantine liturgy which symbolized the Incarnation. When the *basileus* entered Saint Sophia he would donate a silken cloth that was put on the altar to separate the table from the species of bread and wine.⁵ Such a parallel would certainly emphasize Gautier's transformation of the hero's Eastern origin into one that is beyond the biological. He appropriates Heraclius's *imitatio Christi* for the West by incorporating it into a hagiographical and courtly context, and emphasizes this appropriation by giving the hero a biologically Roman origin, drawing on a source recounting rivalry for the throne of Byzantium.⁶

The rest of the episode continues in hagiographical mode by showing the family divesting themselves of their personal possessions. On the angel's orders the cloth used at the conception is given to the sick (vv. 212–18); and when finally Eracle is sold at market the sacrifice of his mother is stressed (vv. 572–606). Yet this specifically domestic version of spiritual renewal is partially satirized in the extremity of the lengths to which Eracle's mother goes in her desire to rid herself of all earthly possessions. While the hero is here presented in the guise of a *homo viator*, the episode essentially prepares

⁵ Fourrier, pp. 240–41; *Eracle*, ed. Raynaud de Lage, p. 204; Pierreville, pp. 23–24; *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, p. xx.

⁶ Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', p. 535; Fourrier, pp. 213–16, 252.

for his worldly success which, as we will see later, provides a viable alternative to his mother's asceticism. After the scene of triumph at the hero's return to Constantinople with the relic, we are reminded that his parents are now 'en paradis, el haut palais' (v. 6466).⁷ This reference to Heaven as a palace recalls II Corinthians 5.1,⁸ where the earthly house is viewed as an impermanent preparation for the heavenly house: 'For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'⁹ Thus the eternal destiny of Eracle's parents parallels, rather than contrasts with, the hero's election to the Byzantine Empire.

Moreover, this later worldly success is prepared for by the hero's role at the court of Rome (vv. 652–5118). This episode is concerned with his use of the three gifts given to him by God, gifts which, as we are told in the episode of his childhood, provide him with knowledge of the true worth of stones, horses and women (vv. 259–68). The Rome episode portrays the courtiers as they veer from one extreme (suspicion) to another (adulation) in their attitude to Eracle. The episode does this not only by criticizing the courtiers' lack of appreciation of Eracle's gifts, but also their superficial exaltation of worldly reputation. Before the gifts are proved to be genuine, the courtiers fear they have been 'encantés' and 'gabé' (vv. 666, 670). Eracle chooses a stone whose powers, he affirms, will protect the holder from water. When he survives a spell underwater, imposed on him as a test of the stone's virtues, the courtiers say, 'qu'il oeuvre tout par trecerie, | Par sorcerie et par enchant' (vv. 988–89).¹⁰ I will return later to the implications of this characterization of Eracle's spiritual gifts as fabrication, and especially to the author's use of the word *oeuvre*, where I will show how the notion of artifice is used to criticize the Persians' adulation of their sultan.

Later, when the gifts have all been successfully tested, the text presents a series of double-edged speeches to the effect that good deeds and faith in good men are always rewarded:

Grans vilounie est de mesdire,
De nului blasmer et desdire;
Assés se blasme et juge l'oeuvre
A çou que nus fais ne se cuevre. (vv. 1779–82)

⁷ '[...] in a heavenly palace on high'.

⁸ *Eracle*, ed. Raynaud de Lage, p. 218.

⁹ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*.

¹⁰ '[...] that everything he did was the result of trickery, sorcery and magic'. See also vv. 1077, 1711, 2683. Other terms used to describe the court's misunderstanding of Eracle are 'devins' and 'max engiens' (vv. 712, 1086, 2558, 2697). The word *engin* conveys not only 'cunning', 'skill' and 'deceit', but also 'device' and 'artifice'. See Tobler-Lommatzsch, III (1954), 388–90. On the moral ambiguity of *engin* and its role in drawing attention to the self-conscious art of the poet, see Hanning, pp. 105–38.

To slander, criticize or wrongfully accuse someone is a terribly wicked thing to do. The action brings its own criticism and judgement with it, since no deed can be concealed for ever.

At face value, this is a sincere affirmation of faith. Yet Gautier applies this directly to life at court, since the passage occurs just after the same slanderers have been proved wrong when the horse chosen by Eracle won the race. As a result the emperor proclaims Eracle his counsellor, indicating that the hero's success at court is the precarious result of his improved reputation, and Gautier does not spare his criticism of the court's blind following of the emperor's whim of the day:

Car puis que sire assaut son cien,
 Tout li autre le sivent bien;
 Tant que li sire a cier celui,
 Tant le cierist n'i a celui. (vv. 1901–4)

[...] for when a master beats his dog, everyone else follows suit;
 but if its master is fond of it, there is no one who can love it
 enough.

He takes a similar swipe at the aunt of the empress-to-be who, in order to persuade her niece to be more generous to her relatives once she is in power, evokes the example of the martyr saints who gave to God everything they had (vv. 2766–72). This proves, shortly after, to be another example of Gautier's misanthropy, when he cynically remarks that 'cascuns a grant parenté | Quant il a riqueche et plenté' (vv. 2797–98).¹¹ In one respect the aunt is right in using such examples as ethical models of rulership, since Gautier later endorses the same sentiment, but here the model is misused by being applied to the veneration of worldly success for its own sake.¹² The court of Rome ultimately recognizes Eracle's gifts and he is dubbed a knight (vv. 2871–72, 2893–99). Certainly the audience is warned of the dangers of the exploitation of reputation: both suspicion and adulation are condemned. Yet this does not bring with it a wholesale condemnation of the court of Rome and its vices.

Zumthor, like Eley and Raynaud de Lage whose views I noted earlier, underlines the unity of the episodes set at the court of Rome, narrating the testing of Eracle's three gifts and the empress's adultery.¹³ In the adultery episode Gautier elaborates on the theme of the courtiers' lack of trust by demonstrating that it actively creates *engin* ('artifice') rather than recognizing it in others as it purports to do. For the description of Eracle's ability in picking out virtuous women at the beauty contest in the three gifts episode,

¹¹ '[...] for when people have an abundance of wealth they acquire lots of relatives'.

¹² For other examples, see vv. 1473–80, 1999–2008.

¹³ Zumthor, 'L'Écriture et la voix', p. 193.

Gautier used the image of copper appearing beneath gold and lead beneath silver as a metaphor for the corruption of the women on whom he tried the test (vv. 2213–15). This reveals Gautier's misanthropy (not to say misogyny) with regard to the court. When the adultery is discovered, the empress pleads with the emperor for leniency on the grounds that “se li plons art, que l'argens fonde, | n'est mie drois c'on le confonde” (vv. 4827–28).¹⁴ Eracle advises the emperor:

‘Cascuns se sent si plains d’anui
 Ne velt pas c'on des autres die
 Ce qu'il en soi ne cuide mie. [...]
 Ne mais que calt? Li biens vaintra,
 Et aucuns preudom le dira:
 “Certes s'Eracles fust creüs,
 Laïs ne fust ja decheüs.” (vv. 5032–44)

‘Every individual feels that he is so full of faults that he does not want people to attribute virtues to others that he does not feel he possesses at all. [...] Yet what does it matter? Virtue will prevail and some worthy man will say, “there's no doubt that if Eracle had been believed, Laïs would never have been deceived.”’

Not only does Eracle express the same view as the empress did in her plea for leniency; but Gautier is himself the *preudom* who, as Eracle predicts, speaks well of the empress in his panegyric (vv. 5073–85). The text itself, like its hero, is a vehicle for the belief that *li biens vaintra*. Similarly, in the beauty contest Gautier had stated that a fistful of water could put out ten or twenty-four candles, as a metaphor for vice and its ability to erase any number of virtues (vv. 2436–44). The idea of Eracle revealing the truth of court life is equated with a misanthropic revelation of the grittiness just below its surface. But in the adultery episode the empress uses a similar metaphor, this time of a candle being turned to smoke, in order to express how the emperor has ruined her love out of a lack of trust (vv. 3340–43).¹⁵ Here we are shown that the emperor has played a key part in not cultivating the silver (to use Gautier's own metaphor), and thus in ensuring that the court's evils are self-perpetuating. It is the makers and unmakers of reputations (Eracle's included) who hold sway, occluding the truth while claiming to disclose it. Yet paradoxically, this allows for the renewal of the city by marking an ultimately positive shift onto the role of the *civitas* (the city as a body of people). And behind the court of Rome stands the implicit community of the audience, which is also to be renewed.

¹⁴ ‘If lead burns so that silver can be smelted, it is not fair to destroy the silver too.’

¹⁵ The use of the word *engin* and its derivatives in the following examples also highlights the key role played by mistrust in the creation of artifice: vv. 3029, 3095.

This prior knowledge about Eracle's gifts lends the audience an advantage over the emperor and his courtiers. In the prologue, those who slander Gautier's patron Thibaut of Blois are seen as a bad audience who do not appreciate poetry (vv. 33–46). This redemptive aspect of Gautier's 'oeuvre', as he terms it in the prologue (v. 114), serves to align his and the audience's privileged viewpoint on the court with Eracle's similar vantage-point, armed as he is with the three gifts. The Champagne audience (we will look at the location of the text's audience in Champagne later) are not only mirrored in the depiction of the court slanderers – and thus warned of the dangers of a lack of faith in Gautier's work, or in the ethics of power embodied in its hero – but also shown how to avoid this fate.

Moreover, the text operates a mirroring effect between Rome and Persia. While on the one hand the spiritual renewal of the West, prefigured in the episode of the hero's childhood and elaborated in greater detail in the story of the relic, holds up to the audience a model to imitate, the portrayal of Rome and Persia, and even the failings of the hero Eracle, serve to warn the audience of what it might become if it is not renewed. Just as the courtiers are enchanted by their worldly interpretation of Eracle's spiritual gifts, so on the one hand the Persians are enchanted by the spiritual claims of the sultan's worldly rulership, and on the other hand they misinterpret the type of kingly model provided by the Cross. Gautier found his sources for much of this episode in liturgical texts intended for the offices of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, feasts that would have been familiar to Gautier and his audience.¹⁶

The final episode of the text (vv. 5119–6570) does three things, all of which are designed to set up Constantinople as a model. First, it presents us with two separate translations of the same relic by a ruler of Constantinople (St Helen or Eracle) to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and to Constantinople. In the history of the discovery of the True Cross by St Helen, mother of Constantine, half of the Cross is sent to Constantine and half put in the Holy Sepulchre (vv. 5207–10). When St Helen dies, Chosroès (the Persian sultan) steals the relic from Jerusalem. The first *translatio* to Constantinople is symbolically shattered when the Byzantine emperor Foucars is killed by the Persian sultan (vv. 5211–64). The sultan takes the relic to Persia where he places it in his palace and sets himself up as a god. The story of the finding of the True Cross provides a paradigm for Eracle's own relationship with his adopted city and with Jerusalem, a relationship that is to become a key issue in the episode relating the hero's restitution of the Cross to Jerusalem. Constantinople is here proposed as a model for kingship subordinated to spiritual concerns. Second, the narrator recounts the hero's election to the empire

¹⁶ Fourrier, pp. 211, 253–54; Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', pp. 514–20; Pierreville, pp. 31–32.

(vv. 5265–302); the suggestion that he is to be a new Constantine inserts him firmly into the history of his adopted city (vv. 5289–90, 5607–8). Third, the episode shows us the sanctification of Constantinople and the West through the commemoration of the hero's deeds in liturgy and architecture.

The hero's imitation of St Helen is enacted when he divides the relic into two and sends half of it to Constantinople (vv. 6079–82). Gautier describes Eracle's entrance to Jerusalem with the relic, pointing out that he is using the same gate as Christ used (vv. 6086–93), and that this entrance was meant to show people how to be humble (vv. 6111–12), but the hero forgets his humility (vv. 6122–31). As Zumthor notes, the narrative here is structured as an allegorical *lectio*: the hero's action is described, the scriptural parallel is recalled, and finally the interpretation gives us the lesson's *utilitas*. The interpretation part describes the hero's arrogant entry, with the bystanders acclaiming him as the 'Roi de Gloire' (v. 6130). This alludes to Christ's kingship, a significant part of the Palm Sunday liturgy and fully revealed in the Cross; the angel who corrects Eracle also makes the link between Christ's entry to Jerusalem and death on the Cross (v. 6226). The connection between event and Biblical type is emphasized by the fact that in the twelfth century this particular gate in Jerusalem was only opened twice a year: for Palm Sunday and for the Exaltation of the Cross.¹⁷ The narrator concludes his account of the restitution of the relic to Jerusalem with a note about the hero's foundation of the feast of the Exaltation and the fact that it is now also celebrated in France (vv. 6427–43). The episode reminds us that Eracle's restitution of the relic is an *imitatio Christi* that mirrors St Helen's finding of the True Cross and the events commemorated on Palm Sunday. The liturgical allusions serve to commemorate and propagate both the deed of Heraclius and the scriptural event on which it is predicated and of which it is a figure; moreover, it is through liturgy that the text's East–West *translatio* is operated.

Through architectural description the scene shows Eracle the meaning of his own kingship, modelled on that of Christ. The theme of worldly power explored in the court episode is raised again when the walls shut before the hero's arrogance:

Li mur se sont ensanle joint
 Li uns a l'autre, point a point,
 Si qu'en cest monde n'a maçon,
 Tant sace d'uevre et de façon,
 Qui les joinsist si biel, si bien;
 C'a Damediu ne set nus rien. [...]
 N'a home en tout le mont si baut
 Qui l'oseroit si metre en haut,

¹⁷ Zumthor, 'L'Écriture et la voix', pp. 165–66; Frolow, p. 55; Fourrier, pp. 238–39.

Se il de verté nel savoit
Et il des clers tesmoign n'avoit. (vv. 6165–78)

[...] the two walls came together until they were perfectly joined with no gap between them. No stonemason on earth is so skilful at his craft that he could have joined them so perfectly and expertly, for compared to God's expertise, man's is worthless. [...] There is no one in the whole world so bold that he would dare to spread this story unless he knew it to be true and had it on clerical authority.

This passage explicates the miracle of the closing walls as a metaphor for the text's depiction of political authority. The *oeuvre* or workmanship of the builder is nothing without reliance on God. We remember that the word *oeuvre* in the Rome episode was associated with deceit and trickery (v. 988). After this, the familiar reminder that he who has more possessions should have more faith does not ring as hollow as it did in the court episode (vv. 6353–62).

The same combination of crusader ideology with a Christological concept of kingship is conveyed by the description of the equestrian statue in Constantinople, erected to commemorate the hero's defeat of the sultan of Persia:

Par deseure ont mis une ymage
Itel de vis et de corage
Con li preudom qui tint l'empire.
Sor un ceval seoit li sire
Tel con il ot quant il venqui
Le fil au fol qui relenqui
Diu, si se cuida essaucier
Por le loi Diu toute abaissier.
Gentement est l'image assise
Et faite l'ont par tel devise
Que jamais jor ne dequerra;
La pert et tos jors mais parra. (vv. 6491–502)

On top they placed a statue which captured exactly the features and disposition of the hero who had governed the empire. Their ruler was mounted on a horse similar to the one he was riding when he defeated the son of the miscreant who had deserted God and thought that he could elevate himself by denigrating God's law. They carefully placed the statue on the column, positioning it in such a way that it would never fall off. It is still to be seen there and always will be seen.

The first two couplets describe the building of a statue (*ymage*) of Heraclius.¹⁸ The next two compare the stone horse with the live horse that Eracle

¹⁸ See Chapter 1, p. 12; Chapter 4, pp. 115, 125.

sat on when he defeated the sultan's son. The next two couplets return to the statue and tell us that it was made in such a way that it will never fall. We move from the literal meaning (the embellishment of the city) to a recollection of the action it commemorates (Eracle's victory) to the lesson on the significance of the victory as it is embodied in the statue.

The passage immediately following mirrors this rhetorical structure:

De biel tor est, et doit bien estre:
 Vers paienime tent se destre
 Et fait sanlant de manecier
 Et de l'onor Diu porcacier.
 Si fist li sire en son vivant
 Et s'il vesquist deus ans avant,
 Il moustrast bien se grant poissance
 Et se vertu et se vaillance;
 Et si fist il ains qu'il morust
 Ne que le mors sor lui courust,
 Et par se grant cevalerie
 Est sainte Glise el mont florie. (vv. 6503–14)

It is very impressive, and so it should be: Eracle is pointing towards pagan territory with his right hand, seeming to threaten them and to pursue God's honourable cause. Thus he lived his life, and had he lived two more years he would have demonstrated further his great strength, valour and courage. Yet he managed this before he died and before death overtook him. It is thanks to his excellent chivalry that Holy Church has flourished throughout the world.

The first two couplets describe the position of the statue's right arm, stretched out eastwards in a threatening gesture as if to defend the *onor Diu*. The last four recall that this was what Heraclius did when he was alive, and that through his action the Church is flourishing. The lesson is clear: the statue not only commemorates deeds by embodying them in the bricks and stone of the material city. Its continued presence stands as a proof of the continued health of the Church, which lives beyond the deeds of the now dead Heraclius (the present tense of v. 6514 is significant). The statue is not merely a figure for Eracle's deed; in the city of Constantinople the indestructibility of the statue proves a more apt vehicle for the true meaning of that deed than does the deed itself. Architecture and liturgy both unite *figura* and *veritas* and bring out the spiritual significance of political action; this is important, since in order to renew, the city must be renewed. As Marie-Madeleine Castellani puts it, the hero's conquest of both earthly *imperium* and *imperium Christi* is accompanied by a conquest of himself.¹⁹

¹⁹ Castellani, 'La Cour et le pouvoir', pp. 31–32. On the relationship between religious

This is made abundantly clear in the passage following the description of the equestrian statue:

Vers Damediu l'esperitable
 Nous soit li sainte Crois aidable
 Dont Vautiers d'Arras a traitié! [...]
 Et que ge si puisse emploier
 Ceste oevre que je bien i aie
 Et qu'ele en males mains ne kaie. (vv. 6515–22)

May the Holy Cross, the subject of this work by Gautier d'Arras, intercede on our behalf before our heavenly Lord God. [...] and also that I might use this work for my benefit and that it does not fall into the wrong hands.

The political model of the ruler's relationship with his city (the *oeuvre* of its builder), as elaborated in the final part of the text, is meant as a model for the right reception of Gautier's work. And the spiritual import of the legend, which as we saw in the last section enables the *oeuvre* (as city and as poetry) to be transcended, is pressed into service as help for Gautier's secular audience.

In *Eracle*, the West and Constantinople unite as the twin poles in a biological and spiritual itinerary, and the cities literally materialize both the text's hagiographical overtones and its use of crusader ideology.

Modelling kingly power and authority: Saint-Denis and Jerusalem in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*

The representation of Western renewal in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is enacted in a *translatio* of relics by Charlemagne from Jerusalem to Saint-Denis. The beginning of the text prepares for the role of rival power that Constantinople plays in the text by distinguishing between power and authority in the characterization of Charlemagne.

The *Pèlerinage* sets out the nature of Charlemagne's royal power and authority and its relationship with the spiritual authority of Saint-Denis. The text transforms the Byzantine capital into a rival source of political power. This distinction between authority and power can help to define the role of Byzantium in the text. Two scenes in the *Pèlerinage*, set in Saint Denis and Jerusalem respectively, exemplify this tension between authority and power. In the Saint-Denis episode Charlemagne boasts of how well the sword and crown suit him, and links authority to military power by affirming that because of this he will conquer yet more cities:

images, faith and *memoria*, see Belting, pp. 19–21. The function of the image in Belting's account is fulfilled in Gautier's text by liturgical allusion and architectural description.

‘Dame, veistes unkes hume nul dedesuz ceil
 Tant ben seist espee ne la corone el chef?
 Uncore cunquerrai jo citez ot mun espez.’ (vv. 9–11)

‘My lady, did you ever see any man on earth
 Whose sword became him so, or the crown on his head?
 I shall conquer yet more cities with my lance.’

By stating that another king – the Emperor Hugo of Constantinople (v. 46) – has a crown that suits him better, the queen’s answer focuses on the external appearance of authority and provokes the king’s retort that he and his rival will compare crowns and the Franks will decide (vv. 13–23). The queen seeks to defuse tension by introducing a distinction of power, and here comparison of rulers proves more difficult:

‘Emperere’, dist ele, ‘ne vus en curucez!
 Plus est riche de aver, d’or e de deners,
 Mais n’est mie si pruz ne si bon chevalers
 Pur ferir en bataile ne pur encaucer.’ (vv. 26–29)

‘Emperor’, she said, ‘do not be angry at this!
 He has greater wealth than you, in gold and in coin,
 But he is not so valiant or such a fine knight
 When it comes to striking on the battlefield or routing the
 enemy.’

The queen shifts the debate by showing that she did not mean an absolute difference of authority but merely a different way of manifesting power, seen in the contrast between Frankish military strength and Byzantine wealth. The narrator describes her as speaking ‘folement’ (v. 12), and she herself says that she intended to ‘juer’ (v. 33) and that it was not intended as ‘hunte’ (v. 38). This introduces a lexis of folly and play which contrasts with Charlemagne’s concern with demarcating truth from fiction. The decision not to rest until he has seen Hugo for himself, stated first in Saint-Denis (v. 57) and then in Paris (v. 75), is based on this desire to prove the queen wrong about his authority or ‘vertuz’ (v. 56). The text’s incipit in the manuscript also presents this as the motive for the journey to Constantinople, stating that Charlemagne goes ‘pur parols sa feme a Constantinnoble’.²⁰ The attire and accoutrements of the Franks as they leave Paris suggest, in keeping with the king’s admission of the double purpose of his journey, an anxiety about whether his authority is vested in wealth or in military power. The journey arises out of the desire to compare qualitatively rival concepts of power; but it is also a pilgrimage acknowledging a divine source for kingly authority (vv. 73, 76–97).

²⁰ ‘[...] because of the remarks of his wife, to Constantinople’ (*Pèlerinage*, pp. 2–3).

It is this second function of the journey that is brought to the fore in the Jerusalem episode. Charlemagne enters a church in which there are thirteen seats on which no one has sat since Christ and his twelve apostles. Charlemagne is assimilated to Christ by becoming the thirteenth man who sits on the thirteenth seat (vv. 113–22). Mistaking him for Christ, a Jew runs to the patriarch and asks to be baptized (vv. 135–40). This endorses Charlemagne's authority based on a Christological view of kingship.²¹ Moreover, Charlemagne tells the patriarch he is seeking the thirteenth king, namely the Byzantine emperor, thus setting up a parallel between himself and Hugo as rival rulers, and the patriarch replies as follows: 'Sis as en la chaere u sist mames Deus; | Aies nun Charles Maines sur tuz reis curunez!' (vv. 157–58).²² The Jew's mistake is important for our understanding of Charlemagne's role. The point of this episode is to point out the parallel between Charlemagne's action and that of Christ, and thereby to reveal the spiritual source of the king's authority. Yet it also stresses that the king is not Christ. This subordination of kingly to spiritual authority continues to be elaborated in the rest of the episode. The patriarch affirms twice that Charlemagne has come in search of God (vv. 168, 185), as Charlemagne's dream suggested and as the narrator also affirmed (vv. 68–71, 91). The relics that Charlemagne is given by the patriarch promptly allow God to cure a cripple, a miracle glossed twice as a 'vertuz'/'vertut' performed by God (vv. 192, 196), in contradistinction to Charlemagne's own self-proclaimed *vertut*.²³

In the concluding *laisse* of the *Pèlerinage*, as I noted above, the journey that Charlemagne has made to the Holy Sepulchre enables the renewal of Saint-Denis, but significantly this renewal is conveyed through the king's pardoning of the queen:

Iloec fud la reine, al pied li est caiét;
Sun mautalent li ad li reis tut perdunét,
Pur l'amur del sepulcre que il ad aurét. (vv. 868–70)

The queen was there, she has fallen at his feet.
The king abandoned his resentment against her,
For love of the sepulchre at which he has worshipped.

Reconciliation with the queen is a logical outcome of the journey in which

²¹ Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 335–40. Pioletti has pointed out that the figure of Charlemagne here reflects elements of Byzantine imperial ideology (pp. 16–20); see also Chapter 1, pp. 10–11.

²² 'You sat in the seat in which God himself sat. | May your name be Charlemagne, crowned above all kings.' 'Maines' is absent from the translation here, and the second half of 'Charlemagne' is absent from the text.

²³ The relics also perform this function of curing cripples on the way to Jerusalem (vv. 255–58).

the king has gained a clearer insight into the spiritual sources of his authority and power. The mention of the reliquary crown placed on the altar affirms the superiority of Charlemagne's own crown over Hugo's and confirms his assimilation to Christ (recalling the Christological kingship of *Eracle*) demonstrated in both the Jerusalem and Constantinople episodes.²⁴ But the manner in which this insight is reached is different in the two texts, and the essence of the difference lies in their characterization of the rival city. In the *Pèlerinage*, unlike in *Eracle*, the rival city (Constantinople) is not an integral part of the itinerary of renewal. Charlemagne's stop in Constantinople interrupts, rather than fulfils, the duty given him by the patriarch to destroy the Saracens (vv. 226–32).

Confrontation in the city: idol and utopia defeated

Looking at the role of the rival city (whether Persian or Byzantine) in our two texts can shed light on the different ways in which they attain an insight into the spiritual sources of the hero-ruler's authority and power.

The episode concerning the Persian palace in *Eracle* begins by recounting how the sultan Chosroès sets himself up as a god to be worshipped by his people (vv. 5228–29). He places the stolen relic of the Cross in the vault of his palace and allows Christians to pay to come and worship it, but his people think they are worshipping the sultan (vv. 5252–53). Conversely the Persians, who worship the sultan as if he were God, are described as a people 'qui croit et mescroit por noient' (v. 5230).²⁵ The sultan fabricates a simulated heaven in his palace:

Tuit i venoient a estrif,
 Que par engien, si con je truis,
 Faisoit plovoir par un pertruis
 Qu'il ot fait faire el ciel dessus;
 Encor i ot il assés plus:
 Li terre estoit dessous cievee
 Et bien planchie et bien levee;
 Uns fols i ot fait por soner
 Con il voloit faire touner. (vv. 5232–40)

They all vied with one another to go there, for, according to my sources, he had devised a mechanism for making rain fall through an opening made at the top of the heaven. And there was much more: underneath a pit had been dug and covered with boards expertly shored up and in it he had placed some bellows to be played when he wished to simulate thunder.

²⁴ Pioletti, pp. 10, 21.

²⁵ '[...] who change their beliefs at the drop of a hat'.

The narrator points out that the sultan's display of power works *par engien*, draws attention to the hole where the water comes in and identifies the bellows that makes a noise like thunder. The display is idolatrous because it aims to imitate the power of God over nature, but neither narrator nor Christian protagonists are taken in by the deception. Moreover, as I argued in the first section, *engin* or artifice is a key element not only in the description of the Persian palace but also in the Roman courtiers' manipulation of the truth. The characterization of the enemy city in this text is more complex than that of a simple opposition of Christian versus pagan. The text operates a mirroring effect between the court of Rome, the Persians and the text's inscribed audience, and thereby presents the Persians' worship of their sultan as a mistake to be avoided.

The text refracts a liturgical source to which it may owe its treatment of artifice in the description of the sultan's palace. The probable source for this description is a Latin liturgical text on the Exaltation of the Cross, named 'De exaltatione sancte crucis' in the manuscript. Like *Eracle*, the source exposes the deception of Chosroès's apparent power:

He had made for himself a silver tower, in which he cleared a space for a golden throne set among bright gems, where he placed a chariot for the sun and an image of the moon and stars, and had led the flow of water through hidden underground channels, so that like a god he seemed to pour rain down from above and, while the architecture of the tower, turned by horses pulling in a circle in an underground cave, seemed to be set in motion, it was as if in some way he feigned the crash of thunder as well as the presence of a device.^{26*}

The idea of artifice is emphasized by the details on the system of pipes that enable the rain to appear, and by the description of the mechanism that lies behind the revolving tower and its imitation of thunder. The use of the verb *mentior* indicates that the passage aims to disclose deception. The exposing and disenchanting function of description here can also be found in another version of the Heraclius legend, albeit of a later date, contained in the *Legenda aurea*.

As well as this passage in which the sultan Chosroès sets himself up as a god, three other passages in *Eracle* – the scene where Chosroès and his son plan an attack, juxtaposed with the angel's exhortation to Eracle to fight (vv. 5303–34); the conversation between Eracle and Chosroès's son on the battlefield (vv. 5629–91); and Eracle's taking of the relic from the sultan's palace (vv. 5869–6024) – also present the sultan as a self-styled God-figure

²⁶ Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', pp. 521–29; *Eracle*, ed. Raynaud de Lage, p. 214. This passage corresponds to vv. 5225–40 of the palace description in *Eracle*, cited above.

and connect belief in him to his feigned mastery over the elements.²⁷ In the first of these passages Chosroès's son's faith in his father is presented as an idolatrous parallel to Eracle's kingly duty to protect religious faith (faith in a spiritual Father), and the audience is encouraged to imitate Eracle by going out to fight (vv. 5397–400). In the second passage Eracle retorts by calling the display 'fantosme et engiens' (v. 5647), and invites the sultan's son to believe in a God whose firmament will not collapse, unlike (it is implied) the vault of his father's palace (vv. 5660–61). With an anaphoric 'vois' (vv. 5663–65, 5668), he encourages the sultan's son to appreciate instead the true firmament and its wonders. Since the Persians mirror the bad audience maligned in the prologue, this reiterated exhortation to see is also addressed to the audience. In the third passage the sultan's proclaimed belief in himself is preceded by Eracle's prayer to the Cross, drawn partly from the office of the Exaltation (vv. 5909–16).²⁸

The inverse parallels between Eracle's religious faith and that of Chosroès's son in his biological father reveal the sultan's misguided desire for power, yet at the same time show this desire to be a distorted mirror of Eracle's own ethics of action. Similarly, the significance of the narrator's depiction of the cave machinery in the description of the palace is to expose the falsity of the sultan's claim to theocratic and cosmocratic power, revealing the latter to be a hollow (the pun is deliberate) faith in the material of the palace. The explicit presence of an automaton can, as we will see, be contrasted with the ambiguity of the palace description in the *Pèlerinage*. Not only does this literal faith in the *urbs* or material city bear a striking resemblance to the Roman courtiers' making and unmaking of reputations, and to the temptation to arrogant kingship that Eracle himself experiences, but Gautier's audience also finds itself implicitly (and uneasily) mirrored in the text's pagan idolaters.²⁹

This representation of the relationship between protagonists and material city can be a way into our interpretation of the role of the Constantinople episode in the *Pèlerinage*, in the wake especially of Faral's suggestion that the description of the revolving palace in Gautier's source may also have been the source used by the *Pèlerinage* poet. As we have seen, the Latin source describes the revolving motion of a tower, and although this element was not used by Gautier, it may have inspired the description of the rotational effect of the wind on Hugo's palace.³⁰ The most significant difference,

²⁷ The Persian sultan's pagan faith in biology is obviously quite different from the medieval characterization of Islam as polytheistic and idolatrous, discussed by Flori in *Croisade et chevalerie*, pp. 161–75.

²⁸ *Eracle*, ed. Raynaud de Lage, p. 215.

²⁹ My interpretation develops two separate points made by Wolfzettel: on the one hand his location of the function of idolatry in Rome, and on the other his discussion of the idolatrous overtones of the biological lineage of Persia (pp. 121–24).

³⁰ Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', p. 536. See also Faral, *Recherches*, pp. 323–24; Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 347–48; Trannoy, p. 238; Polak, pp. 165–66.

as we will see, lies in the way in which the origin of the palace's marvels is described. In *Eracle*, their mechanical origins are made clear and the audience is thus given a vantage point over the Persians on whom the deception is practised. In the *Pèlerinage*, however, the marvels remain of ambivalent origin and are not explicitly attributed to an automaton. The deception is practised on the Franks and the audience is given scarcely any advantage over the protagonists' perception of the palace. The episode, as Massimo Bonafin has recently noted, marks a significant shift in the characterization of Charlemagne in the text, a shift that operates from superior to inferior.³¹

The first part of the Constantinople episode in the *Pèlerinage* covers the Franks' arrival and the description of the orchard (vv. 262–329), the description of the palace (vv. 330–418), and the Franks' drunken jests in the bedchamber (vv. 419–617). The description of the revolving palace and the Franks' reactions to it are the subject of two specific passages (vv. 342–64, 365–98). In the first of these a wind strikes the palace and makes the horns held by two statues of children sound:

Li paleis fud vout e desur cloanz
 E fu fait par cumpas e serét noblement,
 L'estache del miliu neelee d'argent blanc.
 Cent coluns i ad tut de marbre en estant,
 Cascune est a fin or neelee devant.
 De quivre et de metal tregeté douz enfanz;
 Cascun tient en sa buche un corn d'ivoirie blanc.
 Si galerne ist de mer, bise ne altre vent,
 Ki ferent al paleis devers occident,
 Il le funt turner e menut e suvent,
 Cumme roe de char qui a tere decent;
 Cil corn sunent e buglent e tunent ensemment
 Cumme tabors u toneires u grant cloches qui pent.
 Li uns esgardet le altre ensemment cum en riant,
 Que ço vus fust viarie que tut fussent vivant.
 Karles vit le paleis e la richesce grant;
 La sue manantise ne priset mie un guant.
 De sa mullier li memberet que manacé out tant. (vv. 347–64)

The palace was vaulted and completely covered,
 And it was constructed with skill and impressively solid;
 The pillar in the centre was inlaid with white silver.
 Standing there are a hundred columns of marble,
 Each inlaid with pure gold at the front.
 There was a moulded figure of two children in copper and metal,
 Each carrying in its mouth a horn of white ivory.
 If any winds, blowing in from the sea,

³¹ Bonafin, p. 23.

Strike the palace on the west side,
 They make it revolve quickly and repeatedly,
 Like a chariot's wheel rolling downhill.
 Their horns blare and bellow and thunder,
 Just like a drum, a clap of thunder or a huge, hanging bell.
 One looks at the other as if they were smiling,
 So that you would have sworn they were actually alive.
 Charles saw the palace and the splendour of it;
 He does not care one jot for his own possessions.
 He recalls his wife whom he had threatened so much.

Many words give the reader a suggestion (and no more) of a mechanical origin for the wind, although it appears to be natural. When the wind makes the statues of the two children sound their horns, the noise is compared not only to thunder, but to drums and bells, meteorological phenomena and man-made objects being combined as equally possible explanations. The revolving palace is also compared to a moving cartwheel, again suggesting that the revolving motion has its origins in machinery. The word *enfanç* used to describe the automata stresses their human resemblance, but this is coupled with a mention of the material of which they are made.³² Alain Labbé imaginatively interpreted the passage's suggestion of a mechanical origin to the storm by suggesting an outside gallery surrounding the hall and housing the machinery.³³ But the point of the description, as I see it, is precisely to hesitate between a natural, marvellous and mechanical explanation for the display. The statues are described as *cum en riant*: it is not clear whether their apparent smiling is a static pose or an effect of the wind; not only is there an impression of motion, but the word *viarie*, denoting 'façade', 'image' or 'appearance', combined with the *vus*, includes the Western reader (and, by implication, Charlemagne) in the emphasis on the phenomenal and reveals a gap between the Franks and the object of their observation. In the end Charlemagne remembers his wife's criticism of his authority in the opening scene, thinks despairingly of his own *manantise*, which is not as impressive as Hugo's palace, and goes on to compare Hugo to famous heroes of the past (vv. 366–67). It is when faced with the utopian palace of Constantinople and the theocratic power of its ruler that he confesses his own weakness, and that of the West.

On a first reading the second passage likewise contains no obvious threat. A storm arises, which again appears normal and natural, and again the statues seem to blow their horns:

³² Trannoy, pp. 229–33; Faral, *Recherches*, p. 330.

³³ Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 343–47 (p. 345).

E tant cum li emperere cele parole had dit,
 Devers les porz de la mer uit un vent venir:
 Vint bruant al palais, de une part le acueillit;
 Cil l'a fait esmuveir e suef e serrit,
 Altresi le fait turner cum arbre de mulin.
 E celes imagines cornent, l'une a l'autre surrist,
 Que ceo vus fust viarie que il fussent tuz vis.
 L'un halt, li altre cler, mult feit bel a oir;
 Ceo est avis, qui l'ascute, qu'il seit en parais,
 La u li angle chantent suef e seriz.
 Mult fud grand li orages, la neif e li gresilz,
 E li vent durs e forz, qui tant bruit e fremist.
 Les fenestres en sunt a cristal gentilz,
 Tailees e cunfites a brames utremarin.
 Laenz fait itant requeit e suef e serit
 Cumme en mai en estét, quant soleil esclarist.
 Mult fut grés li orages e hidus e costis.
 Karles vit le paleis turner e fremir;
 Il ne sout que ceo fud, ne l'out de luign apris.
 Ne pout ester sur pez, sur le marbre s'asist.
 Franceis sunt tuz versét, ne se poent tenir,
 E coverirent lur chés e adenz e suvin,
 E dist li uns a l'autre: 'Mal sumes entrepris;
 Les portes sunt uvertes, si n'en poum issir.'
 XXII
 Carles vit le palais menument turner;
 Franceis covrent lur chés, ne l'osænt esgarder.
 Li reis Hugun li Forz en est avant alez
 E ad dit a Franceis: 'Ne vus descunfortez!'
 'Sire', dist Carlemaines, 'ne serrat ja mes el?'
 E dist Hugun li Forz: 'Un petit m'atendét.'
 Li vespere aproçet, li orages remist. (vv. 368–98)

No sooner had the emperor spoken these words
 Than he heard a wind coming from the sea ports.
 It swept noisily up to the palace, striking it on one side,
 And causing it to move gently and smoothly;
 It makes it revolve just like the shaft of a windmill.
 And the statues blow their horns and smile at each other
 So that you would have sworn they were actually alive.
 One was loud and the other clear, it is wonderful to hear;
 Those who hear it think they are in paradise
 Where angels sing sweetly and gently.
 The storm was tremendous, with snow and hail,
 And the wind, strong and violent, causes great noise and clatter.
 The windows are of fine crystal,
 Cut and fashioned with ultramarine quartz.
 Inside all is then calm and tranquillity,

As in the summer month of May when the sun is shining.
 The storm was violent, fearsome and overpowering.
 Charles saw the palace revolve and shake;
 He did not know what it was and had never known anything like it.
 He was unable to stand upright, so he sat down on the marble floor.
 The Franks have all been sent tumbling, they cannot stand up,
 And they covered their heads, some face down, others on their backs,
 And they said to each other: 'We're well and truly caught!
 The doors are open, yet we cannot get out of here.'

XXII

Charles saw the palace revolving repeatedly;
 The Franks cover their heads and do not dare to look.
 King Hugo the Strong came forward
 And said to the Franks: 'Do not be disheartened'.
 'My lord', said Charlemagne, 'will this go on for ever?'
 And Hugo the Strong said, 'just be patient with me'.
 The evening draws close, the storm abates.

As Patricia Trannoy has shown, in this passage we have a greater impression than in the previous one that we are watching Charlemagne watching the palace. This time it is Charlemagne who hears the wind coming, compared again to a manufactured object. The verb *surrise* suggests that the children are really smiling; and the statues are described briefly as *images*. Similarly, the paradisiac metaphor of the gentle wind is linked to words expressing subjective perception such as *oir* and *ceo est avis, qui l'ascute*. The sudden mention of a rough storm outside, surprising in view of the gentle revolving of the palace, is mediated to us through Charlemagne's reaction (*il ne sout que ceo fud*). The stark contrast between inside and outside heightens our impression that the storm is artificial, but more emphasis is laid on its effect than on its possible origin in machinery. In the last two instances of *Carles vit le palais*, only the effect (the rotation) is noted. The impression of the whole is that Charlemagne is being confronted with events that are beyond him.³⁴ Hugo tells the Franks to wait until the storm has abated, creating the impression that he is in charge of the display, but not giving any clearer hints as to the origin (mechanical or meteorological) of the storm. While Frankish admiration is ostensibly confined to the palace, the latter confirms and embodies Hugo's imperial power. It is the palace, rather than Hugo himself, that contains the utopian power of Constantinople in this text. I follow Sharon Kinoshita in drawing this conclusion, though my methodology is different.³⁵

The orchard scene prepares for this by operating a shift from a concept of power vested in men to power vested in material wealth.³⁶ The equation of

³⁴ Trannoy, pp. 233–37, 241–46.

³⁵ Kinoshita, 'Le Voyage de Charlemagne', pp. 262–64.

³⁶ See vv. 267, 277, 279, 309, 310–12, 314–15.

kingly power with wealth and its synthesis with the figure of the theocratic ruler can most clearly be seen in the portrayal of King Hugo ploughing. King Hugo is seated on a golden chair, on a cushion under a canopy covered in silk, elements which stress his kingly nature; but the chair is supported by two mules and he himself is ploughing with a golden plough, elements which are more in keeping with the garden setting (vv. 283–97). Charlemagne expresses surprise that the king is willing to leave such a precious object behind without a guard, and Hugo replies that there are no thieves in Constantinople. Whatever the sources for this particular description, it stresses the garden's identity as a space of chthonian sovereignty that provides a framework for the king in his function of *cosmocrator*.³⁷

The palace reflects Hugo's power in a similar way. I have mentioned the possible source for the description of Hugo's palace in the liturgical text cited by Faral, but other critics have attempted to trace other sources for the account in religious texts and descriptions of ecclesiastical buildings. The apocalyptic nature of the trumpets and storm has been likened to contemporary expositions of Christian doctrine such as the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis.³⁸ Another possible influence is the *Book of Ceremonies*: the rotational movement may have its origin either in the apparent movement of a hemispherical dome, or in the Greek word for circular shape being misinterpreted as rotation.³⁹ Images of Christ Pantocrator in Byzantine churches may have inspired Western texts where either the throne or the whole palace is associated with a starry dome.⁴⁰ Hugo's palace has also been compared to descriptions of secular palaces, such as Nero's *Domus Aurea* described by Suetonius and Tacitus.⁴¹ Whatever the precise inspiration, it is probable that the presentation of King Hugo reflects a Western distortion of popular Byzantine conceptions of theocratic kingship.

However, if memories of such descriptions did contribute to the literary palace, then it is significant that here they are applied to a secular building.⁴² Moreover, the whole of Constantinople in this text is a purely secular city, the quintessence of illusion and artifice. The division of buildings into church, palace and chamber is a standard tripartite city description found in many epic texts and often linked to the motif of the ruler's largesse.⁴³ It is signifi-

³⁷ For possible sources for the description of the plough, see Krappe, pp. 365–66; Polak, pp. 159–62. On this passage, see also Labbé, 'Nature et artifice', pp. 187–88; *ibid.*, *L'Architecture*, pp. 350–53.

³⁸ Burns, p. 171.

³⁹ Schlauch, p. 503.

⁴⁰ Polak, pp. 167–68.

⁴¹ Trannoy, pp. 237–38; Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 344–49 (pp. 347–48); *ibid.*, 'Nature et artifice', pp. 184–86.

⁴² Labbé, *L'Architecture*, p. 353; Polak, p. 166.

⁴³ Labbé, *L'Architecture*, pp. 172–81, 228–33; *ibid.*, 'Un haut lieu épique', p. 44; *ibid.*, 'Les "Jeux étranges"', pp. 257–58.

cant that this episode contains only two elements of the traditional schema. The palace has pride of place, and is usually termed *palais*, but occasionally *sale*; the following line reveals a standard degree of slippage between the two terms: ‘cez degrez de la sale vint al paleis errant’ (v. 335).⁴⁴ The second space is Hugo’s ‘cambre’ where the Franks pronounce their jests (v. 421). Yet the third space, the church, is absent from the Constantinople episode. Despite also being a secular building, the palace of Persia in *Eracle* is quite different, since it explicitly attempts to imitate divine power. Hence although the audience of *Eracle* are privy to the deceit operated by the Persian sultan, the nature of this deceit nonetheless warns them (identified, as they are, implicitly with the Persians) of the dangers of idolatry. In the *Pèlerinage*, on the other hand, it is left uncertain whether or not the display of power in the palace has a marvellous or mechanical origin. Whatever its origin, the fact of Hugo’s power is undeniable if inexplicable, yet its secular nature points to its inability to pose a threat to the Western status quo. Far from being would-be idolaters, the audience here are unashamed admirers. It is this that makes Constantinople a utopia.⁴⁵

However, in both texts it is the revelation of the Western ruler’s dependence on spiritual power that destroys the power vested in both the idol of Persia and the utopia of Constantinople. The drunken jests made by the Franks once they are alone, by enacting open confrontation between the two rival powers, pave the way for the destruction of the utopia. As parodies of the epic tradition of military boasts before a battle, the jests constitute a transgression of the trust placed in the Franks as guests.⁴⁶ Five of them, all deliberate attacks on the material city, its people, or on King Hugo, provoke the hidden Greek spy to exclaim “‘Refols fud li reis Hugun quant vus prestat ostel’” (v. 466), or a variation of this.⁴⁷ One of them, Oliver’s jest to have sex with Hugo’s daughter one hundred times in one night, is termed ‘huntage’ (v. 491), whereas some of the more harmless jests are approved because conversely they would bring the king no shame. Two others, harmless demonstrations of the superhuman strength of Frankish flesh, provoke the statement ‘de fer est u d’acer’ (vv. 552, 578).

⁴⁴ ‘He came quickly up the palace steps to the hall’. The word *palaz* is perhaps better translated as ‘(great) hall’ than ‘palace’. I have, however, chosen to use the word ‘palace’ as being a more apt reflection of the splendour of the Byzantine architecture recalled in the descriptions of these texts. See *Raoul de Cambrai*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Many critics have pointed out that Constantinople embodies a different type of power from the West. See Vance, pp. 172, 178–79. Méla has noted that the city appears mythical because it is visited after Jerusalem, whereas we would expect a journey to Jerusalem to go via Constantinople (p. 16). Gosman notes that Constantinople in the text ‘produit l’illusion d’une autre grandeur’ (p. 62, my italics).

⁴⁶ Cobby, pp. 101–7; Pioletti, pp. 21–23. For the Franks’ transgressive desire to conquer the city, see vv. 327–28, 405–7, 450–52.

⁴⁷ ‘King Hugo was foolish when he granted you lodging.’ See vv. 483, 530, 563, 590.

The second part of the Constantinople episode recounts the fulfilment of the jests (vv. 618–801) and the comparison of crowns (vv. 802–57). Hugo calls the Franks' jesting 'folie' (v. 629) as the spy did, and demands that the jests be translated into truth or else the Franks will die (vv. 632–33, 646–47). Persisting in his role as guest, Charlemagne counters that Hugo flouted his duties as host by planting a spy (vv. 686–89). As other critics have pointed out, when Hugo asks for the jests to be fulfilled he is, in seeking to prove the truth of foolish words, taking up the same position as Charlemagne did when he listened to the queen's words in the opening scene.⁴⁸ And like the queen Charlemagne pleads a difference in customs, opposing a discourse of relatives to Hugo's discourse of absolute values (vv. 652–56). In accordance with this emphasis on the search for literal truth, Hugo persists in his desire to discover if the jesting was truth or a lie (v. 734).

But the divine fulfilment of the jests shifts this lexis of hospitality and aggression onto a different level.⁴⁹ The Franks bring the relics out and ask God to save them with his 'vertud' (v. 669), recalling the use of the word in the Jerusalem episode to remind us of Charlemagne's dependence on God. Christ sends an angel with the message that the jesting was indeed 'folie' and they are not to do it again (v. 675), but that they will be able to carry out all the jests (vv. 674–77). Charlemagne undergoes a learning process that culminates in the fulfilment of the third jest, the flooding of the city. As Bernard boasted in his jest, the flood makes Hugo flee up a tower and beg Charlemagne to take pity on him (vv. 779, 785–87; cf. vv. 558–61).⁵⁰ But Charlemagne and the twelve peers also need to flee up a tree (vv. 780–82), and beg God to make the flood withdraw; it is divine *vertut* ('miracle') that saves Charlemagne from being a victim of his own success (vv. 788–91). Hugo's only explanation for this success is that the Franks must be 'encanteres'/'ancantur' (vv. 733, 756).

The process of seeing the truth behind apparent enchantment – revealing the origins of Charlemagne's power, an issue that has animated the entire text – is also a key issue in *Eracle*. It is seen both in the Roman court's ultimate recognition of Eracle's gifts and in the Persians' rejection of idolatry in favour of Christianity. When Eracle arrives in the sultan's palace after killing his son, the word 'uevre', familiar from earlier passages, is used to describe the gold workmanship of the palace vault (v. 5874); likewise, the sultan is the one 'qui l'uevre edefia' (v. 5886). Designating not only 'material substance' and 'heroic deed', but also 'work of fiction', the word *uevre* in this text stands for the limitations (material and ideological) of the *urbs* or material city. Yet

⁴⁸ Sturm, pp. 13–14; Leupin, pp. 223–25, 232–33.

⁴⁹ Gosman (pp. 58–61) has noted that Charlemagne has direct contact with God in this episode: there is no Pope or patriarch as intermediary. Hugo, by contrast, is named purely as emperor of the East.

⁵⁰ See vv. 779, 785–87; cf. vv. 558–61. See also Cobby, pp. 151–52.

like the audience and the court of Rome (and indeed any earthly city) Persia can be renewed. The sultan's abduction of the Cross is seen in retrospect, after it has been recovered, as a prefiguration of the country's Christianization (vv. 6064–71). Michel Zink contrasts the description of the palace in *Eracle* with another version of the legend of Heraclius, found in a vernacular sermon, entitled 'Sermo de Sancta Cruce', contained in an Occitan manuscript dating from the end of the twelfth century.⁵¹ In contrast to *Eracle* and its possible source, this sermon makes the Persian ruler the master through enchantment of rain and sunshine whose artifice the text refuses to disclose. Although later in date than either of the texts that concern us, it is interesting in view of its use of the same legend to present true enchantment analogous to the utopian power of the palace in the *Pèlerinage*.

Unlike in *Eracle*, in the *Pèlerinage* there is no reprieve for the defeated rival of the West. Enchantment exerted by Constantinople as utopia does not exist as a veil over a reality into which the Franks then gain insight, paving the way for the idol to be renewed. The marvels of the palace scene are never explicated: the enchantment is and remains real, but the fulfilment of the jests turns it into a stage from which the Franks are able to move on. The queen's statement that Hugo's greater power lay in wealth rather than men, triggering off the journey to Constantinople, is objectively true, and this is made plain in the characterization of Constantinople as a utopia. But the destruction of the utopia reveals the truth of her words to be unimportant since their proclamation of Hugo as the superior king fails to recognize another truth (namely, dependency on God) that renders it fiction. Such recognition is achieved through the fulfilment of the jests, representing the transformation of apparent fiction into truth.⁵²

Without the religious meaning of which the text affords us glimpses, Charlemagne's authority, while real, must inevitably appear as an arbitrary (and indeed highly comic) matter of external display. The queen's words that Hugo was more powerful are again dismissed as *folie*, once it is revealed that Charlemagne's crown is literally one foot and three inches higher than Hugo's (vv. 813, 819). The Constantinople episode rights the balance in Charlemagne's perception of his kingly authority and its relationship with spiritual authority, but it achieves nothing else, and that is why the Franks take no wealth with them, and why Oliver refuses to take Hugo's daughter (vv. 839–44, 854–57).⁵³ The final scene in Saint-Denis shows the crown as relic,

⁵¹ Thomas, pp. 416–17; Zink, pp. 380–83 (p. 381).

⁵² Leupin's view that the fulfilment of the jests through the power of the relics compromises the wholeness of divine discourse neglects this fundamental point (pp. 233–34). On the palace as the site of illusion, see also Méla, p. 24. On the complex relationship between sameness and otherness in this text and in Clari's chronicle, see Sinclair.

⁵³ Beckmann, p. 291.

revealing, as did the Jerusalem scene, the true meaning, and true limitations, of Charlemagne's kingship.⁵⁴ Just as Eracle had to learn humility before he could enter Jerusalem and complete the *translatio* of the relic, Charlemagne's defeat of his rival is only achieved after he has learnt the same lesson.⁵⁵

In both *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage*, the defeat of the rival city (whether idol or utopia) enables a revelation to be made about the relationship between kingship and spiritual renewal, by mirroring, revealing and thus admonishing the misguided tendencies of the West. *Eracle* suggests that Western renewal is achieved through the presentation of Constantinople as a model to be imitated (*aemulatio*), and Western *translatio* and *renovatio* remain merely implicit. Renewal is positive and seen as a process of becoming. The *Pèlerinage* uses Constantinople as utopia in order to highlight, mirror and compensate for the failings of the West. The utopia is also perceived as threatening and is associated with material and architectural features such as automata. It is ultimately destroyed by a superior West and is complicit in its own downfall. The West's interaction with Constantinople as utopia in the *Pèlerinage* certainly sheds light on its own limitations in a positive sense (Greenblatt's wonder, the Levinassian encounter with the Other), but this is only a temporary stage, and the utopia is destroyed as a threat. The divergences in tone and theme between the Jerusalem and Constantinople episodes of the *Pèlerinage* can be interpreted as manifestations of the incommensurability of authority and power respectively. The utopia's destruction both symbolizes, and is effected by, a realignment of Charlemagne's priorities: while his ability to demonstrate his power is limited and inevitably ineffectual, his authority is revealed to be real and unsurpassed.⁵⁶

Renewal is positive in these texts, especially in the notion of the dependence of political power on faith. In the *Pèlerinage* renewal is brought about through the dismissal of the very real difference vested in Constantinople as utopia. In *Eracle* the hero's biological origins in the West (through the topos of *translatio imperatorum*, the representation of a Byzantine emperor as Roman and Western) are transcended by the hero's accession to the Byzantine throne (achieved through his faith and humility, not through his origins).

⁵⁴ Trannoy, pp. 247–51; Pioletti, pp. 10, 21.

⁵⁵ King, 'Humor and Holy Crusade', p. 151. This article makes some interesting points about the sin of pride which Charlemagne and Eracle have in common.

⁵⁶ Dominique Boutet has briefly analysed the presence of the *translatio* topos in the *Pèlerinage*, but he seems to see this *translatio* as compromised by the text's odd way of demonstrating France's superiority over Byzantium. My analysis of renewal and utopia in this text is a step towards developing a more nuanced account of how the very real ambivalence of Constantinople is refracted in such vernacular texts. See Boutet, 'De la *translatio imperii* à la *finis saeculi*', pp. 38–39. See also Morrissey, pp. 59–62, who shares my conviction that laughter/parody and serious affirmation of Charlemagne's superiority go hand in hand in this text, and, for a contrasting view, Wunderli, who argues that the traditional image of Charlemagne is destroyed in this text (p. 33).

But these very Western origins tend to explain and sanction in advance (as coming from *within* a wholly Western world-view) the ultimate implicit renewal of the West to which Gautier alludes. In *Cligès*, of course, this is even truer, since it is Arthur's court that provides a model for Constantinople and enables it to be renewed, to the extent that in that text we cannot in fact say that Constantinople is a model for the West at all. The theme of spiritual renewal in the two texts we have been looking at certainly tends to overcome the problem of cultural difference (and the threat posed by the superior Other), but it does so at least partially through a refusal to recognize that the West can be renewed through *acceptance* of what is different.

Constantinople as a marker of generic hybridity

Some discussion of genre can help elucidate the parallels and distinctions between these two texts. Ellen R. Woods argues that identification with the epic hero involves accepting the values of the community that he embodies. Jean Subrenat reads the collective epic journey in Augustinian terms as a reminder and symbol of man's status as a traveller on earth. Certainly, in the epic the city may be more directly identified with ruler and regime than in romance. Courtly romance, on the other hand, has traditionally been seen as providing a vehicle for the transmission of an ethics of individual involvement in society.⁵⁷ Yet as Sarah Kay has argued, the traditionally collective model of community propagated by the *chanson de geste* masks a society riven by rupture and dissent, the genre being preoccupied with the precarious, and easily disrupted, balance between a weak king and powerful barons.⁵⁸ In the *Pèlerinage* one of the functions of Constantinople as utopia is to criticize the Frankish concern with power and consequent misinterpretation of authority. Moreover, individual involvement in *Eracle*, chronologically the later text, is ultimately to be equated with an ethics of exemplary heroism that identifies the hero with Constantinople and makes it a focus for renewal. As Kay notes, the accession to kingship by the knight-hero of romance annuls any conflicting relationship between knight and king.⁵⁹

In *Eracle*, as Friedrich Wolfzettel has noted, the type of model vested in Constantinople through the hero is based not on lineage and inheritance, as is more usual in epic and romance, but on election and talent; he classifies the text as a biographical romance in the tradition of vernacular hagiography. Duncan Robertson has also underlined the links between romance and hagiography, suggesting that the narrator's address to the reader in courtly

⁵⁷ Woods, pp. 61–68; Calin, p. 239; Rossi, p. 384; Subrenat, pp. 403–9; Jaeger, pp. 113–26, 211–54.

⁵⁸ *Political Fictions*, pp. 116–44.

⁵⁹ *Political Fictions*, pp. 121, 124, 127.

romance may be viewed as a refraction of the hagiographical mission to educate, and stressing that the common goal of hero and saint is the search for perfection.⁶⁰ The codicological juxtaposition of *Eracle* with other texts confirms the impression that it lies at the confluence of different traditions.⁶¹ The contents of manuscript *T* bring out the unity underpinning this generic hybridity. Like *Sone de Nansay* – and indeed the *Conte du roi Constant l'empereur* in manuscript *B* – *Eracle* also contains the motif of the hero's accession to a foreign throne, but the common romance motif of the search for genetic parents, found in *Richard le Beau*, is transformed in Gautier into a search for God the Father. Karen Pratt has most recently characterized the text as a historico-biographical narrative, which draws on the interpretant genres of hagiography, courtly romance and epic.⁶² My reading has stressed that the text advocates the transformation, rather than the rejection, of the courtly values of the Rome episode, just as the hero's relationship with Constantinople involves the transcendence of materiality and of biological inheritance. As far as the *Pèlerinage* is concerned, we saw above that the Constantinople episode is not an integral part of the itinerary of renewal. Consequently, the thematic and generic unity of Charlemagne's journey has been much discussed and sometimes contested.⁶³

⁶⁰ Wolfzettel, pp. 115–22; Robertson, pp. 11–28. See also Flori, “Les Héros changés en saints”, pp. 257–66.

⁶¹ The text of *Eracle* is extant in the following three manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 1444 (formerly 7534) (*A*), dates from the late thirteenth century. It contains mostly moral and devotional texts, but also one of the many French translations of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* made during the thirteenth century and, following *Eracle*, the *Roman des Sept Sages de Rome* and the *Roman de Marques de Rome*. For further codicological information, see Chapter 5, pp. 155–56. BNF, fr. 24430 (*B*), also dates from the late thirteenth century. It includes the following texts: the *Cleomadès* of Adenet le Roi, a courtly romance on the subject of a marvellous ebony horse, finished in 1285; the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, a compilation on French and crusading history, written c. 1260; the *Chroniques de Tournai*; and a verse life of Saint Eleutherius, bishop of Tournai, martyred in Paris with Saint Dionysius. Following *Eracle*, it contains a letter on the conquest of Acre in 1291, and the *Conte du roi Constant l'empereur*. This is the prose version of the legend of the Byzantine Emperor Constantius I Chlorus, written in the second half of the thirteenth century. The third manuscript is Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, L. I. 13 (*T*), which dates from the mid-fourteenth century. Among other texts it contains *Sone de Nansay*, a courtly romance written between 1270 and 1280, narrating the chivalric exploits of a knight who undertakes a journey to Norway where he marries a princess and becomes king; finally he becomes emperor of Rome after helping the Pope to defend Christendom; the *Cligès* of Chrétien de Troyes; and *Richard le Beau*, a thirteenth-century *roman d'aventures*, part of which narrates the illegitimate hero's search for his parents. See *Eracle*, ed. Raynaud de Lage, pp. v–vi; Taschereau, I, 227–28; Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: ancien petits fonds français*, II, 357–58; Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, p. 28; Bossuat, pp. 18–19, 405, 1247, 1268–69, 1401; Farmer, p. 135; *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, pp. xxiv, xlvi–lii.

⁶² *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, p. xxxi.

⁶³ Burns, pp. 161–62; Burrell, pp. 48–49, 52–53; Sturm, pp. 5–8; Labbé, *L'Architecture*,

Attempts have been made to compare the two texts on other bases than genre. Their representation of the renewal of Constantinople and Saint-Denis through association with Jerusalem has been interpreted as a fusion of the military and spiritual functions of Georges Dumézil's trifunctional ideology. Wolfzettel has related the role of these cities in both *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage* to such a fusion of functions, while Joël Grisward's analysis of the *Pèlerinage* locates each function in one of the three cities, linking the function of idolatry to Constantinople, and Andrea Fassò draws similar conclusions.⁶⁴ While these critics' methodology is different from my own, the conclusions they reach about the role of the city in these texts coincide largely with those that I have reached through a study of the distinction between renewal and utopia.

The two texts are both fiction, in which the debate between renewal and utopia is at its clearest, because of the aspirational role of such texts. In *Eracle* the knight's accession to the Byzantine throne provides closure, and annuls the conflict between knight and king (common in romance) seen in the Rome episode. The debate on the generic status of *Eracle*, its characterization by Wolfzettel as a biographical verse romance of hagiographical nature, and the affinities of the Constantinople episode with the *chanson de geste*, is enriched by an analysis of the relationship between renewal and narrative closure. To an extent the subordination of Constantinople to the West in the topos of *translatio imperatorum* (Heraclius is originally from Rome), which mitigates our impression of Western renewal as dependent on Byzantium alone, is conveyed to us by the romance part of the text (the Rome episode). It could be argued that this Westernizing of renewal is underpinned by the concerns of the romance genre. But the text's generic hybridity frustrates our attempt to read it as a coherent whole: narrative closure is achieved in a context outside of the Western world and outside of the confines of the romance/saint's life genres with which the text began. This hybridity could ultimately be seen as a means of conveying precisely the ambiguities of the concept of *aemulatio*, within which the central question is perhaps 'does renewal through East–West relations come from the East or the West?' In the *Pèlerinage* the extent to which the text parodies and challenges the generic category of the *chanson de geste* is revealed by Constantinople as utopia. The destruction of the utopia is necessary in order to effect narrative closure (by resolving the quarrel between king and queen). To this extent I endorse John L. Grigsby's conclusion that the text is an example of the genre of the *gab*,⁶⁵ but it is also more than this and, moreover, the *gab* elements are symbolized by Constantinople as utopia. The ramifications of utopia and renewal, and the extent to which the text is inspired by and parodies the genre of the *chanson*

pp. 348–50; Legros, 'Constantinople', p. 533; Pioletti, pp. 5–8.

⁶⁴ Wolfzettel, pp. 122–24; Grisward, p. 77; Fassò, p. 98.

⁶⁵ Grigsby, *The 'Gab' as a Latent Genre*, pp. 99–140.

de geste, are complex. Constantinople appears in both *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage* as a marker of generic hybridity.

Westernizing Constantinople through liturgy and architecture

The full significance of the dialectic of renewal and utopia for the texts' meaning has yet to be teased out. The texts reacted to a particular cultural context and fulfilled a role within that context, and my elucidation of the distinction between renewal and utopia can help us towards new ways of understanding the texts' relationship with that context.

Elements endemic to medieval French society, namely the ideal of crusader heroism, the social and liturgical role of hagiography and the political theology of kingship, were factors in *Eracle's* interpretation of its sources. The text drew its inspiration in part from the life and exploits of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–41). In the twelfth-century West the emperor's memory was celebrated in liturgical or hagiographical texts because his war against Persia was mistakenly interpreted as an attempt to regain the Holy Places for Christianity. An unfounded relationship was established between the Persian sultan's capture of the relic of the True Cross and sack of Jerusalem (614), Heraclius's first expedition against Persia (622), and the ceremony celebrating the restitution of the relic to Jerusalem (630).⁶⁶ As we have seen, the Persian sultan Chosroès's stealing of the relic and the hero Heraclius/*Eracle's* recovery of it is recounted in the last quarter of Gautier's text. A close relationship exists in the text between the motif of the defeat of a rival and that of the *translatio* of relics to Jerusalem and Constantinople. This reinterpretation of the emperor's role was inspired by the crusader ideal.

At the same time the text has a hagiographical element to it. As we saw in the last chapter, the past and present of Byzantium was seen as a religious model for twelfth-century France. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, commemorating St Helen's discovery of the True Cross, came into existence in Jerusalem in the fourth or fifth centuries, and from the eighth century onwards spread throughout the West. The liturgy of the Invention and Exaltation encouraged the propagation in hagiographical mode of the legend of Heraclius. The fact that, at the time the text was written, the Byzantine capital still held the largest piece of the True Cross would have heightened contemporary interest in the text's Westernizing reinterpretation of Heraclius's relationship with his city.⁶⁷

We cannot be sure of the precise date of the text's composition and know

⁶⁶ Frolow, pp. 50–51; Zink, pp. 380–83; Fourrier, pp. 239–40; *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, pp. xviii–xx.

⁶⁷ Martimort, IV, 99–100; Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', pp. 514–20; Zumthor, 'L'Écriture et la voix', pp. 161–62; Frolow, pp. 59–61; Farmer, p. 231.

nothing of its author. Gautier presents ‘Tibaut de Blois’ as the patron of his work (v. 53) and in the epilogue reveals that he was ‘Li fix au boin conte Tiebaut’ (v. 6524),⁶⁸ which means he must have been Thibaut V of Blois (1152–91), the son of Thibaut IV. Unfortunately, it is not possible to be more precise than this, other than to say that the text was produced at the courts of late twelfth-century Champagne.⁶⁹ However, we do know that the nobility at the court of Blois-Champagne enjoyed strong political ties with the Byzantine Empire during this period.⁷⁰ How does *aemulatio* work in this context? Although the West is called to imitate Constantinople (embodied in and represented by Eracle), it was the Byzantines who first imitated the West, since in the text their most famous emperor is actually Western. We could say that it is a Westernized Constantinople that the West is to imitate. This can be a way into our interpretation of the text. Both Eracle and the city of Constantinople constitute a model not only for Western crusader heroism, but also for an ethics of rulership involving a theological awareness of a king’s political role, whereby the king becomes emblematic of his city. Through the enactment and celebration of *translatio* in liturgy and architecture, Gautier proposes Byzantium as a model for Western renewal.

The tradition of Charlemagne’s journey to the Orient

The *Pèlerinage* emerged in the context of traditions about Charlemagne’s journey to the Orient and must also be viewed against the backdrop of the abbey of Saint-Denis where this legend was popular. I noted above the importance of the abbey church of Saint-Denis in the text. The importance of this church has been well documented by historians. Lindy Grant’s reinterpretation of the role of Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis from 1122 to 1151, has stressed that his main concern was the glorification of his abbey. His building programme served to create more space for the pilgrims who constituted a major source of revenue for the great pilgrimage church, famous not only as the burial-place and shrine site of Denis, the first bishop of Paris, but also as the repository of two relics of the Passion. The abbey benefited from a conflation of its patron saint Denis with the anonymous fifth-century author known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, since he was himself confused with a contemporary of St Paul of that name.⁷¹ The works of the Pseudo-Dionysius were in demand at the abbey, and we know of at least two monks of Saint-Denis from this period who translated Greek texts, brought back

⁶⁸ ‘[...] the son of good Count Thibaut’.

⁶⁹ *Eracle*, ed. Pratt, pp. vii–xiii.

⁷⁰ Gautier d’Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, pp. vii–viii, xx; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 184–87; Fourrier, pp. 255–57.

⁷¹ Grant, pp. 30, 64–66, 258–60.

from Constantinople, into Latin; there was also some teaching of Greek at the abbey, and even Greek elements in the liturgy. Suger's writings indicate that he may have regarded Saint Sophia and the treasures of Constantinople as a model for his rebuilt abbey. He covered the tympanum of the northwest portal with a mosaic, and in one of the windows had himself portrayed in *proskynesis*.⁷² Many of the versions of Charlemagne's journey to the Orient involve the *translatio* of Passion relics from Constantinople to France and sometimes to Saint-Denis. This legendary connection with Charlemagne served to legitimize the abbey's authority.⁷³ Critics have interpreted the spiritual dimension of Charlemagne's kingship in the *Pèlerinage* in the context of Suger's writings on the rebuilt abbey church which, influenced by the *De caelesti hierarchia* of the Pseudo-Dionysius, were famous for their emphasis on the anagogical function of gold and material wealth.⁷⁴

In accordance with the interest shown in Byzantium at the abbey, the other versions of the legend which inspired the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* present Constantinople as a spiritual model and source of relics for Saint-Denis. The *Descriptio*, which was at least partly written at the abbey, describes how Charlemagne defeats the Saracens at Constantinople and Jerusalem, and returns to Constantinople where the Byzantine emperor rewards him with Passion relics; finally he journeys back to Aix-la-Chapelle, founds a feast for the veneration of the relics, and later both the relics and the feast are transferred to Saint-Denis. It is likely that both the *Pèlerinage* poet and the audience would have known the version represented by the *Descriptio* (c. 1180).⁷⁵ The tradition represented by the *Descriptio* was extant several decades before the date of its composition, as the same role of Constantinople as source of relics could be found in a stained-glass window at Saint-Denis. It was commissioned by Suger, probably for a ceremony emphasizing monarchical submission to the abbey, staged in 1147 when Louis VII departed from Saint-Denis on the Second Crusade. The ceremony first took place in 1124 when the abbey gained full jurisdiction over the Lendit fair held every 11 June in honour of the relics of the Passion held at the abbey.⁷⁶ The window is no longer extant, but the bottom group of panels in the early-thirteenth-century Charlemagne window at Chartres portrays Charlemagne's journey to the Orient as the Saint-Denis window would have done (Plate 3 opposite). If

⁷² Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 97, 175–76; Alverny, p. 433; Barber, p. 469.

⁷³ For an overview of the different versions, see Coulet, pp. 109–249; Walpole, 'Jules Horrent', pp. 136–41; Vance, pp. 170–71.

⁷⁴ Burns, pp. 164, 176; Adler, 'Saint-Denis', p. 560; Verdier, p. 343; Méla, p. 10.

⁷⁵ Castets, pp. 417, 430–33; Coulet, pp. 169–236; Walpole, 'Jules Horrent', pp. 139–43; *Pèlerinage*, pp. xlvii–viii; *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, III, pp. xiii–xv; Polak, pp. 167–68; Vance, p. 174; Morrissey, p. 59. For the text of the *Descriptio*, see Castets, pp. 439–74.

⁷⁶ Grant, pp. 157–59, 227, 259.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

3. Chartres cathedral, Charlemagne window (early thirteenth century), panels 2–7 ((a) to (f)).

we read from left to right, ignoring the bottom-most panel which depicts the guild of furriers who donated the window, the arrangement is as follows: in the first panel (a), Charlemagne receives a delegation of bishops who recount a dream that Constantine VI has had, in which an angel tells him that Charlemagne will defeat the pagans for him (the dream is depicted in the second panel (b)). The third (central) panel (c) shows Charlemagne being welcomed by Constantine at the gates of Constantinople. Again reading from left to right, the fourth panel (d) shows him defeating the pagans, and in the fifth (e) he returns to Constantinople and is given relics as a reward, including the relics of the Passion. The sixth and final (top) panel (f) of the group shows Charlemagne kneeling in front of the altar at Aix-la-Chapelle, holding a reliquary crown in which is probably the fragment of the Crown of Thorns he has brought back from Constantinople.⁷⁷ The window presents the cities in the same order as its source, the *Descriptio*, and like *Eracle* makes the *translatio* of relics to the ruler's own city a consequence of, and a reward for, the defeat of a rival power.

We may assume that this tradition was one with which the author of the *Pèlerinage* would have been familiar in some shape or form. Whether or not the text itself was produced at Saint-Denis is not certain, although critics have connected it to the annual Lendit fair where the Passion relics were venerated.⁷⁸ The language would certainly suggest the Paris region; opinions vary widely as to the date of production, and there is no space here in which to rehearse all the arguments, but Glyn Burgess and Rita Lejeune are among the many critics who either suggest or imply a date in the mid twelfth century.⁷⁹ Other dates proposed vary from 1075 to the end of the thirteenth century. Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer argued in 1959 that the text was probably produced in the second half of the twelfth century, as the Constantinople episode suggests that courtly romance was already on the rise, while the mingling of heroes from different epic traditions suggests that the epic was already at an advanced stage.⁸⁰ However, Theodor Heinermann (1936) believed that the text was produced shortly after the Second Crusade, say between 1149 and 1152, and that it satirizes Louis VII's crusade, and he advanced a number of

⁷⁷ Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, pp. 95–97. For an interpretation that reads right to left for the first two panels, and then as above, see Deremble and Manhes, p. 181. For another interpretation, which also reads from right to left, but places the last four panels in the order fifth-third-fourth-sixth, see Rolland, pp. 256–58. See also M.-M. Gauthier, pp. 52–53.

⁷⁸ Adler, 'Saint-Denis'; Grigsby, 'The Relics' Role', pp. 30–31; Morf, pp. 214–28; Walpole, 'Poem, Legend and Problem', pp. 181–86; Vance, pp. 166–68; Van Emden, pp. 194–97.

⁷⁹ *Pèlerinage*, p. xi; Lejeune, p. 15; Vance, pp. 174–75.

⁸⁰ Cobby follows this dating (p. 152).

convincing historical arguments to support this hypothesis.⁸¹ While I would not completely discount the arguments in favour of a slightly later date, I believe that the historical context of the abbey church of Saint Denis and its Byzantine connections during the mid twelfth century would endorse the earlier dating. Alfred Adler, Bruno Panvini and Jules Horrent all support this view.

Suger's exploitation of the abbey's traditionally close links with the Capetian monarchy was intended to put the kings in their proper place of subordination to the abbey's authority.⁸² The *Pèlerinage* also makes Charlemagne submit to the authority of the abbey, like the *Descriptio* and the Charlemagne window. At the end of his journey the king returns to Saint-Denis and places on the altar the relics he has received from the patriarch of Jerusalem (vv. 862–67). The nail and crown are the only two relics mentioned specifically at this point in the text (v. 866), suggesting that one of the aims of the author may have been to explain the origin and enhance the importance of relics housed at the abbey, namely a nail from the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns.⁸³ The *Pèlerinage* manuscript contains another text, a *chanson de geste* known as *Titus et Vespasien* or the *Destruction de Jerusalem*, which also relates a transfer of relics associated with Christ from Jerusalem to a Western shrine by or for a Western emperor. It describes how the Emperor Vespasian has leprosy and sends his seneschal Gaius to ask after the great prophet in Jerusalem. The seneschal returns with news of Christ and with the relic of the Veronica. The emperor is cured and with the help of his son Titus avenges the death of Christ by destroying Jerusalem and having Pilate imprisoned. Finally, the emperor entrusts the Veronica to the Pope who places it in a shrine.⁸⁴ While in this text Jerusalem is both the source of relics and the rival to be defeated, in the *Pèlerinage* these roles are split between Jerusalem and Constantinople.

The divergences between the texts we have been examining and traditions about Charlemagne and Heraclius tend to undermine focus on Constantinople as the source of renewal, since in the *Pèlerinage* the city is transformed from source of renewal to rival political power, while in *Eracle* the Byzantine emperor Heraclius is originally from the West. In the atmosphere of mutual mistrust between the West and Byzantium in the wake of the Second Crusade, but also of close cultural and political contact during the reign of Manuel Comnenus, the texts' highly ambivalent representation of the idea of Western imitation (*aemulatio*) of Byzantium could be seen as enacting the

⁸¹ Grigsby, pp. 118–30.

⁸² Grant, pp. 15, 21, 113–21.

⁸³ *Pèlerinage*, p. xlvi.

⁸⁴ This thirteenth-century manuscript (now lost) is British Museum, Royal 16. E. VIII. See Ward, I, 176–78, 625–27.

hope for Western *renovatio* since it makes available, in textual form, Byzantine culture and makes contact with that culture favour (however ambiguously) the ultimate renewal of the West. At the same time the aspirational function of the texts may well have fed the popular image of Constantinople as ambivalent model in France during this period.

The contrasting modes of interrelation between the relics and rivalry motifs in the two texts analysed in this chapter shed light on the distinction between renewal and utopia, and confirm its use as an appropriate way of categorizing the role of Constantinople in such texts. In *Eracle* defeat of the sultan of Persia allows the translation of relics to Constantinople to be accomplished, thereby sanctifying the Byzantine capital and turning it into a model for the spiritual renewal of the West that mirrors the potential renewal sketched out in the Rome episode. The hero's ultimately successful imitation of Christ's humility represents the achievement of a *renovatio* which transcends and transforms the material city not only of Jerusalem but of Constantinople, allowing a parallel to be drawn between the hero's exemplary deed and the potential deeds of the audience. The latter thereby constitutes a community that is renewed by looking beyond itself. In the *Pèlerinage*, by contrast, the defeat of the emperor of Constantinople exemplifies a confrontation with a utopian power that is independent of the renewal of the West through the *translatio* of relics from Jerusalem to Saint-Denis. The existence of the rivalry motif depends upon a loss of kingly power and the revelation that a different concept of power is vested in Constantinople. The description of Constantinople is mediated to us through the Franks' lack of understanding of what they see: as a utopia the city is static and impermeable, but presented as temporary in order that renewal may take place.

In both texts, Constantinople serves as a marker of generic hybridity. In *Eracle*, that hybridity – the fact that narrative closure in the Constantinople episode is achieved not only outside of the Western world but also outside of the limits of the romance/saint's life genres with which the text began – conveys the double-edged ambiguity of the concept of *aemulatio*. In the *Pèlerinage*, however, narrative closure depends upon the destruction of Constantinople, the marker of a hybrid genre that parodies the dominant concerns of the *chanson de geste* by substituting a lexis of jest and fiction. The extent to which the two texts react to their historical and literary background reveals once again the ambiguity of Constantinople, since the texts' divergences from tradition both play down the city's role as source of renewal. This fits well with the contemporary atmosphere of combined mistrust and admiration of Byzantium that permeated France in the wake of the Second Crusade.

Part II of this study will examine the tensions and links between *aemulatio* and *admiratio* and their implications for the representation of the city as means for renewal and as utopia. The motif of cross-cultural marriage was

merely hinted at in the *Pèlerinage* with the brief relationship between Oliver and Hugo's daughter. The texts in the next chapter, *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Girart de Roussillon*, attribute a central role to the motif of the marriage alliance with Byzantium as a means for renewal.

PART II

Constantinople Desired

Aemulatio: The Limitations of East–West Alliance

Imitation and admiration coincide and conflict in the representation of East–West relations in complex ways. This chapter explores in greater detail the motif of the marriage alliance between the Western hero and a female relative of the Byzantine emperor. It will focus on two twelfth-century texts, the verse romance *Partonopeus de Blois* and the chanson de geste *Girart de Roussillon*, exploring not only the use of the alliance as a means of renewal, but also the depiction of Constantinople as a utopia.¹

The Byzantine princess: marriage alliance as a means of renewal

The texts to be discussed in this chapter narrate the achievement of an alliance between Byzantium and France through the marriage of the texts' male Western heroes to the educated daughters of the Byzantine emperor. The end of manuscript *A* of *Partonopeus* contains an ending stressing the significance of the alliance for East–West relations,² and the opening scenes of *Girart*

¹ References to *Girart* are from *Girart de Roussillon*, trans. Combarieu and Gouiran. This is based on Hackett's edition; for the text of the latter, see vols I–II (1953). References to *Partonopeus* are from Eley's edition. I have chosen the spelling 'Partonopeus' for the eponymous hero's name, following Eley's edition (see her 'General introduction'). When referring to specific passages, I have used the metaline numbers in conjunction with the manuscript siglum, as requested in *Partonopeus de Blois*, ed. Eley et al., 'User's guide'. For the main text of the romance, I have used manuscript *B* as this is the base manuscript used by Gildea, so that readers without access to the online edition can cross-refer to the earlier edition. For the continuation, I have used manuscript *T* for the same reason. On marriage in history and fiction in the second half of the twelfth century, see Duby, *Le Chevalier; la femme et le prêtre*, pp. 201–39.

² The text of *Partonopeus* is extant in seven complete or near-complete manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 368 (*P*), fourteenth century, includes texts about Alexander; BNF, fr. 19152 (*G*), thirteenth century, includes some adaptations of classical legend; BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 7516 (*L*), thirteenth century, contains *Partonopeus* only; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 2986 (*A*), late twelfth century, contains *Partonopeus* only; Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 939 (*T*), twelfth century, contains *Partonopeus* only; Berne, Stadtbibliothek, 113 (*B*), thirteenth century; Rome, Vatican, Palatinus Latinus 1971. See *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, I, p. viii; II.2, 10–13. Correspondence between members of the *Partonopeus* project team at Sheffield and the Stadtbibliothek

de Roussillon also recount the sealing of a marriage alliance.³ Through an exposition of the close relationship between marriage and material city, these texts propose an ideal of unity of East and West under the Frankish king and elevate Constantinople into a model of urban prosperity and harmony.

Partonopeus de Blois effects union between East and West by stressing the beneficial effects of Western domination. The role of the eponymous Frankish hero Partonopeus is to anchor the Byzantine Empire firmly within Christendom and deliver it from the magic of the Byzantine princess Melior and her power over the marvellous city of Chief d'Oirre. As we will see, the relationship between East and West in the early part of the text is characterized more by unfamiliarity and distance on the part of the Western protagonist than by participation. The hero brings a light into the city and destroys the magic by which Melior hides her relationship with the hero from her people; by doing so, he destroys the disorienting utopia created by Melior, such destruction being a prerequisite for the West's re-appropriation of the East. Troy, which as the prologue makes clear is the original home of the Franks, is implicitly restored in Chief d'Oirre to which the hero is brought. Melior's kidnapping of the hero, enabled by her magic powers, represents a humorous rewriting of Paris's abduction of Helen that reverses the gender roles.⁴ A large part of the long prologue is taken up with recounting the familiar legend of the Trojan origins of the Franks, using the topos of *translatio originum* (*B* Meta 144–404). Similarly, the prologue sees Troy as the quintessential Oriental city, terming it 'chies daise *et* flors de joie' (*B* Meta 146). By stressing the East as origin rather than as alien, this topos emphasizes that the union by marriage between Byzantium and the West is a rewriting of the legend of Troy that provides an alternative to a utopian vision of the East.

The account of the fall of Troy presents significant differences from the author's source text, the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure, notably a negative portrayal of King Priam (*B* Meta 161–72), and a humorous presentation of the figure of Aeneas, who becomes Anchises' stepson rather than his son (*B* Meta 305–7). Anchises himself is a *filz a vilain* whom Priam mistakenly raises to a position of power (*B* Meta 179–84), and the narrator celebrates the resourceful adultery of Anchises' wife (*B* Meta 315–22), which results in his stepson Aeneas being unaware of his true parentage (*B* Meta 253–58). The raising of *filz a vilain* to power is a source of corruption not only

in Berne revealed that manuscript *B* is now in the Burgerbibliothek. I am grateful to Dr Penny Eley for this information.

³ The text of *Girart* exists in three complete or near-complete manuscripts: BNF, fr. 2180 (formerly 7991) (*P*), mid- to late thirteenth century, Occitan; London, British Museum, Harley 4334 (*L*), second half of thirteenth century; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Miscellanea, 63 (*O*), first half of thirteenth century: both of these contain a mixture of Occitan and Old French forms. See *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III (1955), 462–72.

⁴ Gaullier-Bougassas, 'L'Orient troyen des origines', pp. 301–4.

for Troy but also for France (*B* Meta 431–34), for the pagan king Sornegur (*B* Meta 2679–718), and in the Rome episode of the continuation (*T* Meta 13406–4001). By contrast, at the time of King Clovis under whose reign the hero's adventures begin, there are no such *vilain* holding positions of power (*B* Meta 477–78). The hero's accession to the empire promotes an aristocratic ideal in order to annul the errors that led to the fall of Troy. The parallels are emphasized when Melior states that she wants the hero because he resembles Hector (*B* Meta 1525). Moreover, in both the main version and manuscript *A* Franks are described as having Trojan lineage (*B* Meta 10382–84; *A* Meta 11314). Byzantium, however, is in decline (*A* Meta 12580–85).⁵

A brief outline of the content of the concluding episode in the other manuscripts will shed light on the distinctive role played by East–West relations in the manuscript *A* redaction.⁶ The part of the text in question comes after the end of the three-day tournament, held on the advice of Melior's counsellors in order to decide who will win her hand in marriage (*B* Meta 7764–9566). Just prior to the end of the tournament, the final fight between Margaris (the sultan of Persia) and Partonopeus proved inconclusive (*B* Meta 8004–10101). The episode narrates the final events of the story from the decisions of the judges about the winner of the tournament to the marriage of Partonopeus and Melior (*B* Meta 10144–1143). We are told briefly that Gaudin, a converted pagan from Spain who has become Partonopeus's friend, is in love with Melior's sister Urraque but this romance is not developed in the course of the narrative. Six knights are selected by the judges, three Christians: Lohier, king of France; Gaudin; and the hero himself; and three pagans: Margaris; Sadés, king of Syria; and Aupatris, king of Nubia. Gaudin and Aupatris withdraw, and Er nol, one of the judges, argues against Lohier and Sadés and appeals to Melior for a decision. At Melior's prompting, Corsolt suggests that the knights disarm, and Melior agrees, stressing that beauty is important to her (*B* Meta 10822–931). Partonopeus wins and the marriage takes place. The narrator passes fairly quickly over the account of the celebrations with a traditional humility topos (*B* Meta 11126–27), which tends to distance us from the marriage alliance, and goes on to note briefly that king Lohier recognizes Partonopeus.

The *A* redaction begins to diverge from the other manuscripts towards the end of the second day of the tournament, at some point after *A* Meta 9170. Since *A* is missing a quire between folios 49 and 50, the whole of the third day of the tournament is missing. Five out of the six other manuscripts contain a continuation concerning the further adventures of Partonopeus and

⁵ Simons and Eley, 'The Prologue to *Partonopeus*', pp. 1–4, 8–12. On the hero's accession to the Byzantine throne as a *translatio* that symbolizes the renewal of Troy, see Joris, pp. 73–74.

⁶ A useful plot summary is given in *Partonopeus*, ed. Eley, 'Episode map'; *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, II.2, 16–34.

the sultan, but it is complete only in *T*. The *A* redaction, however, breaks off after 1920 verses and ends with the marriage of Partonopeus and Melior. Its dialect suggests that it was produced for a count of Blois.⁷ As Penny Eley and Penny Simons have pointed out, the main features of the manuscript *A* ending that are not present in the other version are Partonopeus's killing of the sultan, the arrangement of three marriages between Western knights and Byzantine women, and the considerably greater profile given to the wedding celebrations.⁸

In the *A* redaction the deliberation of the judges concerns merely the choice between Partonopeus and the sultan rather than the six knights of the other version, thus emphasizing the significance of the hero's role. The discussion on whether the knights should disarm is the same as that in the other version, and corresponds to the passage where *A* rejoins the other manuscripts. The judges' verdict on Partonopeus's victory is preceded by a long passage that emphasizes the hero's Frankish origins, thereby reinserting him and his imminent marriage into a clear political context. Ernol asks the hero his lineage and King Lohier overhears and makes a long speech on how much Partonopeus has been missed. The Byzantines respond by affirming that they had heard of a Frankish hero's successful defence of France against Sornegur but had not realized that he and Partonopeus were the same person (*A* Meta 11232–415). In accordance with this emphasis on Western victory, the hero responds to the sultan's challenge by proposing a duel and ultimately killing him (*A* Meta 11518–937).

The problem of the love of Persewis, Urraque's maidservant, for Partonopeus, and that of Gaudin's own unrequited love, is developed at length (*A* Meta 11454–85, 11981–2017, 12136–53); but it is resolved and turned into another affirmation of East–West alliance when Gaudin proposes marriage to Persewis, a suitable match since she is the daughter of a rich count (*A* Meta 12174–343). Another long conversation between Partonopeus and the king provides the catalyst for the king's offer to marry Urraque and take her to France (*A* Meta 12064–135). This third marriage is thereby set in the context of East–West alliance. Moreover, another passage makes clear the role of the material city as a metonym for that alliance. A long description of Melior's bed, its animal carvings, ivory (*ivoirie*), gold, carbuncle (*escarboncle*) and silk provides the backdrop for the hero's remark to Melior: 'Or croist amors *et* alliance | Entre vos *et* le roi de france' (*A* Meta 12444–45).⁹ In particular, the narrator digresses from a description of the pillow made of phoenix feathers to recount the habits of the phoenix: 'Entor uns mons est abitans | U tos dis est li fus ardans | En cel fu se rajovenist | *Et* ses penes· i rafrescist' (*A* Meta

⁷ *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, I, p. viii; II.2, 1–4, 7, 26; Simons, pp. 374–75.

⁸ Simons, pp. 377–78, 384–86, 397, 400.

⁹ 'Now love and alliance grow between you and the king of France.'

12382–85).¹⁰ By recalling the secular Resurrection of the phoenix, the device of *amplificatio* here explicates the presence of the bed as an embodiment of renewal through marriage. It may also be developing an earlier brief mention of a carpet of phoenix feathers in Melior’s bedroom. This interpretation of the digression as a means of shedding light on the theme of the revival of love is also suggested by the passage immediately following, where Partonopeus tells Urraque of the joys of love:

Dex fait bien *qui* amans miracle
 La grant paine *et* le grant dolor [...] *Ma il tote a joie vertie*
Par le saisine de mamie (*A Meta* 12419–23)

‘God indeed does a miracle in his love; he has turned my great pain and great sorrow [...] all to joy by the possession of my beloved.’

The word *saisine* is a legal term which means ‘taking possession of something to which one is entitled’.¹¹ Accordingly, the marriages are sealed by gifts of land: Partonopeus gives Gaudin his land in Blois, while Persewis, being sole heir to her father’s land in Byzantium, also brings land to the marriage (*A Meta* 12533–55). Finally, the narrator of the *A* redaction devotes considerable space to an account of the marriage celebrations. The details begin early on in the episode when the imperial authorities, sacred and secular, give Partonopeus a sceptre and he goes into the city (*A Meta* 11954–69). They conclude firstly with the wedding ceremony: this is preceded by a procession with censers, reliquaries and relics, and afterwards the silk cloths on which the marriage partners kneel are given to the church (*A Meta* 12754–855); and second, with celebrations in the palace, whose floor is covered in silk and spices (*A Meta* 12856–99). The hero’s status as a force for renewal is affirmed by the Byzantine people who are optimistic about the benefits his reign will bring (*A Meta* 12571–85), by the traditional spring topos with which the wedding day narrative opens – ‘bien samble tans renoveles’ (*A Meta* 12629) – and by the complementary emphasis on the magnificent dress of Western knights and Byzantine women (*A Meta* 12646–753).

Simons and Eley have argued that manuscript *A* is the original ending of the romance, and have established probable connections between a revised view of the date of its composition and the historical background of East–West relations. In a detailed analysis of the variant endings of the manuscripts, Eley and Simons have established that manuscript *A* is the only one to develop consistently a political subtext that supports the counts of Blois

¹⁰ ‘It lives around a mountain, where every day a fire is burning; in this fire it makes itself young again and renews its feathers.’

¹¹ Tobler-Lommatzsch, IX (1973), 89–92.

and Champagne and Louis VII against the Anglo-Angevin king Henry II, a hostility that was rife around 1170. Fourrier explained the Byzantine context with reference to the marriage of Agnes of France to Alexius II Comnenus in March 1180. Eley and Simons's suggestion of the date of 1170 for the text's composition, a decade earlier than Fourrier's dating, fits in with events in Byzantium during this earlier period. Maria, born in 1153 and the only child of Manuel Comnenus and his first wife Bertha of Sulzbach, was perceived as the sole heir to her father's throne before Alexius was born in 1169 and formally recognized as heir in 1171. In 1170 an embassy was sent to Henry II to try to arrange a marriage between Maria and his youngest son John. The text may have attempted to counter this threat of a Plantagenet alliance with Byzantium by narrating the marriage of a Blois ancestor. Moreover, the prevailing view has been that the first redaction of the text was represented by the versions without the different ending found in manuscript *A*. However, Eley and Simons have argued that manuscript *A* in fact constitutes the original ending of the romance, and was followed by a successful *remaniement* that aimed to appeal to a different audience by toning down the anti-Plantagenet subtext. Such a rewriting may have been done at any point after the Treaty of Ivry in 1177 where Louis VII and Henry II were reconciled.

Reynders, however, has contested this earlier dating, arguing that manuscripts *V* and *B* represent the oldest version of the romance, which she dates to 1182–85 (a similar date to Fourrier's). She argues that Simons and Eley ignored the political importance of the group of manuscripts represented by *V* and *B*, which, like manuscript *A*, omit passages contained in the other manuscripts that praise the king of England. She also notes that manuscript *A* rehabilitates the king of France at the end of the text, and that the portrayal of the king has been negative up till that point, as in the other manuscripts. Manuscripts *V* and *B*, she concludes, are the most coherent politically and are therefore likely to represent the earliest version. But she neglects the Byzantine context, which fits better into the earlier dating proposed by Simons and Eley. However, I am generally convinced by her reassessment of the conclusions of Simons and Eley, and see no reason why the earlier Byzantine context might not still have inspired the text's representation of East–West relations, despite the later dating.¹² Hence through its exploitation of the legend of Troy in the prologue to *Partonopeus de Blois*, the text traces a movement of *translatio* from East to West, and this is confirmed in the *renovatio* represented by the marriage alliance recounted in the text itself.

The beginning of *Girart de Roussillon* also shows how the marriage alliance effects Western renewal, but this is not mediated through a participa-

¹² Simons and Eley, 'A Subtext and its Subversion', pp. 181, 184, 194–95; Simons, pp. 375–76, 403; Eley and Simons, pp. 316–24, 337; *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, II.2, 12–13; Reynders, pp. 500–2. For further information on marriage alliances between the West and Byzantium in the second half of the twelfth century, see Appendix 3.

tory relationship with the Byzantine material city seen as a metonym for the marriage, so much as through a *translatio* for which the topos of largesse, the conferring of political titles and the presence of Byzantine architecture in the West, are emblematic. Moreover, in *Girart* the marriage alliance opens the text, rather than concludes it as was the case in *Partonopeus*, and a key concern of the rest of the narrative is the relationship of the alliance to Western renewal. The Constantinople episodes probably represent late additions to the manuscript tradition of *Girart*, in the form of attempts by a *remanieur* to insert an earlier story recounting the king's conflict with his vassal into the context of the struggle for empire. However, I follow other critics in treating the text as a single unit.¹³ The opening scene depicts the Frankish king Charles Martel's court at Rheims (vv. 30–126), and shows us a conventional portrait of a king on the day of Pentecost distributing gifts to his vassals, against the background of a palace remarkable for its size (vv. 30–65). But it also serves to establish the purpose of the alliance with Byzantium, proclaimed by the Pope who delivers a speech to the assembled Franks that is marked by a concern with the safety of the borders of Christendom, and constitutes the first of the text's three retrospective narratives about Constantinople:

‘Cai non vinc per aver, non per deduc,
 Meis per servise Deu faire, jo cuic [...]
 D’oltre Costantinoble, devers Auçir,
 A l’emperaire guere, non pot partir.
 Aichi erete Rome a captenir.’ (vv. 69–77)

‘I have not come here for wealth, nor for pleasure, but to serve God, I affirm [...] Beyond Constantinople, towards Tyre, the emperor is at war, he cannot get away. Here he is heir to Rome and has a duty to govern it.’

I interpret the recent visit to Constantinople that the Pope is just about to recount in the context of this exhortation to the Franks to carry out the *servise Deu* by defeating the pagans that threaten the Byzantine Empire. The presence of the material riches of Constantinople a little further on in the text suggest that it is not a question here of an opposition between wealth and pleasure on the one hand and *servise Deu* on the other, since the former enables the latter. The political significance of military aid is made clear in one vital piece of information, namely that the Byzantine emperor is the heir to Rome, constituting an unprecedented (and needless to say entirely fictional) affirmation of political unity between Eastern and Western Christendom in which the Franks are here invited to participate, and which explains

¹³ Labbé, ‘Corps et coeur’, pp. 164–65. See also *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III, 545; Louis, II (1947), 240–56.

and motivates the alliance. The means of such participation is the marriage alliance between Charles and Girart and the two daughters of the emperor, arranged by Drogon, one of the king's vassals and Girart's father, during his recent visit to Constantinople (vv. 78–81). Drogon's own account of this journey, which forms the second retrospective narrative, begins with a visit to the Holy Sepulchre accompanied by 'droghemanz' (v. 95) and 'neüsanz' (v. 97), interpreters and merchants provided by the Byzantine emperor.¹⁴ He also stresses the presence of pagans who attack the empire from all sides, and finally describes the emperor's daughters, reiterating their significant status as means to a potential Frankish inheritance of Rome (vv. 94–103). Part of the same enterprise to which the Pope calls the Franks here is the need to defeat the pagans from Africa currently ravaging Rome (vv. 82–89), a challenge which Charles and Girart subsequently take up (vv. 116–26). The picture of East–West relations built up in these two accounts of the same visit to Constantinople shows us that not only does the West recognize Byzantium's dominance over southern Italy, but that Constantinople is the protector of Western rulers in the Holy Land and pre-eminent over them.¹⁵

The Franks' visit to Constantinople comes next in the narrative (vv. 127–310). The first part of it is characterized by the Byzantine emperor's admiration of the Franks, as he rushes out of the city to see them. When he asks the Western messengers on the way what Charles is like, they tell him that no king is more feared (v. 161). When he arrives at the camp we see the visitors' Spanish gold and Greek silk through the eyes of the amazed emperor (vv. 170–74).¹⁶ As in the opening scene in Rheims, it is the Pope who takes charge and mediates between the two parties, who assemble at his tent (vv. 175–76); he asks the Byzantine emperor to agree to the arrangement to which Charles swore in Rheims, namely that Charles should marry the emperor's elder daughter Berthe and allow Girart to take his younger daughter Elissent (vv. 182–87). The second part is marked by the increasing dominance and impressiveness of the emperor, a shift that is instigated by his promise to do as the Franks wish once they enter the city (vv. 190–92). He gives the visitors lodging near the church of Saint Sophia (v. 203), where the floor is covered with silks and spices and the price of the interior decoration impressively beyond the budget of other rulers (vv. 205–8). Next comes a short interlude describing the emperor's display of magic and its effect on the Franks, which we will consider a little later. After this the emperor sends provisions for a banquet to the Frankish camp, which the narrator interrupts

¹⁴ *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III, 702, 808.

¹⁵ Louis, II, 379–80; Adler, 'Greco-Byzantine Vestiges', pp. 302–3.

¹⁶ The text uses the terms *emper/emperador* to designate both Charles and the emperor of Constantinople, which may suggest that they are to be seen as equally powerful: but in any case, the text is not concerned with rivalry between them. See *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III, 710.

with the observation that ‘serie ennuiz d’auir e de contar’ (v. 227). This is a topos common to laudatory descriptions, but here it precedes the information that ‘Girarz ne lai vol mais sorjornar’ (v. 232), suggesting that the narrator’s impatience is matched by that of the Franks.¹⁷ The daughters are brought out, and Berthe’s education is stressed: ‘Sos paire li a fait les ars parar; | Sat caudiu e gregeis e romencar, | E latin e ebriu tot declarar’ (vv. 237–39).¹⁸ The Franks swear on relics to take Berthe on behalf of the king (vv. 242–52), but the account of Elissent’s beauty precedes a note about the discord that is to ensue (vv. 258–64). The alliance is sealed with oaths taken on more relics, at the Franks’ request (vv. 269–70). In order for this to happen, Girart and the Pope submit themselves once again to the emperor’s authority by entering the ‘moster del capitoile’ (v. 272). From there the emperor encourages them into his chamber (‘cambre soz uns arvolz’, v. 282) where they reiterate the wish to leave. Due to the abundance of wealth given them on departure, the Franks return with all their desires fulfilled (vv. 284–90, 297–310). The presence of wealth in the city serves to underline the political desirability of the alliance, since largesse is not only a rite of hospitality but also a demonstration of power to outsiders.¹⁹ This is affirmed by architectural description, especially of Frankish palaces, which provides a material counterpoint to the text’s East–West movement of *translatio* and *renovatio*.

Labbé’s work emphasized the role of palace descriptions in the text as the materialization of antique and Carolingian concepts of sacral monarchy.²⁰ The buildings of Constantinople are divided into church, palace and chamber, reflecting the standard tripartite description found in many epics. Similarly, the presence of a crypt (‘crotoile’, v. 273) reflects Western rather than Byzantine religious architecture. Indeed, as far as architectural description is concerned, the text sets forth an inverse relationship between East and West, reserving its most elaborate descriptions of Oriental luxury for the palaces of Girart and Charles, which clarify the direct relationship between architecture and political power. In the text, it is Girart’s as well as Charles’s palaces that are described in this way. As Labbé noted, this represents a seigneurial appropriation of the architecture of majesty that provides the material counterpart to the power vested in Girart.²¹ Labbé considered whether, to judge by the precision of his descriptions, the author may have had a direct knowledge of Byzantine architecture, perhaps through travel to Italy, but concluded that

¹⁷ ‘It would be tiresome to hear and to recount’ (v. 227); ‘Girart does not want to stay there any more’ (v. 232).

¹⁸ ‘Her father has had her taught the Seven Liberal Arts; she knows Chaldean and Greek and the Romance vernacular, and can explain Latin and Hebrew.’

¹⁹ Rossi, p. 387.

²⁰ Labbé, ‘Couleurs et lumières du palais’, pp. 187–88.

²¹ Labbé, *L’Architecture*, pp. 175, 228; *ibid.*, ‘Couleurs et lumières du palais’, pp. 181–87. On tripartite city descriptions in the epic, see Chapter 2, pp. 56–57.

his knowledge was second-hand.²² Certainly there are many architectural elements that seem to be inspired by Byzantium: these include the presence of mosaics (*musec*), vaulted chambers (*voute/cambre vielle*), crystal (*mare-vitre/marabit*) and sardonix (*seldoine*). These are common features of the descriptions of Roussillon, Girart's palace in Avignon, Fouque's palaces and the royal palaces in Paris and Orléans.²³

The palace is often identified with the hall (*sale*) as a place of power, justice and council, as well as of meals and entertainment. In the description of one of Fouque's palaces the hall is itself designated as 'palaz' (v. 1617), while in his other palace there is a distinct opposition between 'moster' and 'sale' (vv. 1896–97).²⁴ In the royal palace in Paris we see the third space in the tripartite schema, the 'cambre' or chamber (v. 3547). The royal palace in Orléans brings an external space into play, the garden adjoining the palace (vv. 2136–45). The presence of an artificially induced 'dolc vent' (v. 2142) gives a suggestion of a hidden mechanism or automaton, and intensifies our impression of the garden as a space affirming the king's dominance over nature and his status as *cosmocrator*.²⁵ Girart's residence at Roussillon tends to be seen from the outside as an object of the king's greed. Thus the occasion of its first description is the arrival of a messenger sent by the king to ask Girart to surrender (*laisse* LI). The presence of sardonix (v. 726) and bronze vaults (v. 727) – developed in a later description into a bronze bull (v. 8606) – may be deformed memories of Byzantine architecture and mosaic-work. Shortly after, when he is describing the castle to the messenger, Girart notes the presence of a carbuncle (*escarboncle*) that lends him an air of sovereignty, and imagines Charles seeing the castle and envying his own possession of it (vv. 823–27). Just before the castle is plundered, we are told that the tower was built by 'gent sarrazine' (v. 1017).²⁶ Hence while the use of architectural description appears to affirm the renewal of the West through Byzantium, it actually underlines conflict between Charles and Girart. In the next section I will discuss in more detail the implications of this for the construction of the Frankish community. This splitting of sites of renewal is only resolved by the use of Constantinople, at the end of the text, as a model for a monastic concept of community.

²² Labbé, *L'Architecture*, p. 187; *ibid.*, 'Un haut lieu épique', p. 49; *ibid.*, 'Couleurs et lumières du palais', p. 175. See also Louis, II, 383.

²³ See vv. 726–27, 1128–29, 1618, 2139–40, 3547–50. My interpretation will touch only briefly on the central 80% of the poem, between the beginnings of the open hostility between Charles and Girart (v. 598) and Girart's defeat (v. 7340). I use material from this central part to draw attention to the role of palace architecture and the consequences of the king's attitude on his relationship with the community and its chances of renewal.

²⁴ See Chapter 2, p. 57.

²⁵ Labbé, 'Nature et artifice', pp. 184–86.

²⁶ Labbé, 'Un haut lieu épique', pp. 36–45; *ibid.*, 'Couleurs et lumières du palais', pp. 175–80; *ibid.*, *L'Architecture*, pp. 187–95.

The impressive display of magic put on by the emperor allows us to glimpse a utopian side to Constantinople, in the sense of rendering it inimitable and resistant to appropriation. This utopian characterization starts when the Franks are invited into the city and begin to talk business (vv. 211–22). Throughout the *laisse* the emperor is in charge:

E il lor fait ses jous estrains veder,
 E a ses nigromanz tanpez plover,
 E signes per samblances granz aparer.
 E quant lor a pavor fait sostener,
 Si fai autres merveilles per art mover,
 E jous corteis perviz, leus a sofrer. (vv. 212–17)

He shows them his strange games, and has his magicians rain down a storm and make signs appear in impressive guise. And when he has kept them in a state of fear, he makes other marvels move through artifice, and clever courtly games, pleasant and agreeable.

The Byzantine emperor is the subject of many of the verbs, including the verb *faire* on which the key actions in the display are dependent.²⁷ He also manipulates the Franks' reactions by performing both marvels that incite fear and those that are more benign. This stress on the Franks' subjective impressions heightens our awareness of the city as a utopian power, especially since the guests proceed to lose their memory until the next evening. There is a hint at the presence of automata in the phrase *per art mover*, but the passage is short and is merely an interlude in the Franks' visit that has no repercussions on their relationship with the emperor. Labbé rightly pointed out the difference between the text's evident clerical suspicion of the marvellous and the weight given to the scene of the revolving palace in the *Pèlerinage*, a scene which in Chapter 2 I analysed as contributing to the presentation of Constantinople as a utopia.²⁸

Two elements in the final *laisse* devoted to the city description (XXIV) also allude to this utopian power: first, the magic and the Franks' reaction of wonder are briefly recalled (vv. 294–96); second, the wealth given them on departure causes them to forget all pain and suffering (v. 308). In *laisse* XVIII where the topos of the marvellous is first introduced, it is not strictly part of the sealing of the alliance: it is a static demonstration of utopian power that distances the Franks from the city and places them in a relationship of inferi-

²⁷ See also vv. 204, 209–10.

²⁸ Labbé noted that this *laisse* bears witness to an extra-diegetic misunderstanding of Byzantine ritual in the mind of the poet, and stands at odds with the alliance that is the focus of the rest of the episode. See 'Les "Jeux étranges"', pp. 258–62, 264–69 (p. 269); *L'Architecture*, pp. 181–83.

ority with its emperor. Certainly, the positioning of the magic show between the initial part of the visit, characterized by the emperor's hospitality, and the final part where the marriage arrangements are discussed and oaths sworn, may allow us to interpret it as a means of testing the Franks' staying power. Yet the reiteration of the same topos at the end of the Constantinople episode tends to turn it into an accompaniment to the political participation symbolized by the wealth taken back to France.

A search for historical precedents for the positive view of East–West relations shown in this scene may point to Manuel Comnenus as a possible inspiration for the figure of the Byzantine emperor in the text. Manuel's famed popularity with the French was at its height from 1146 to 1147 and declined after 1149. Many historical marriages took place during this period between male Westerners and female relatives of the Byzantine emperor. Critics have noted the following alliances as possible inspirations for the situation in *Girart*: the marriage between Henry of Austria, and Theodora, niece of Manuel, in 1148; the marriage of Renier of Montferrat and Maria Comnena in 1178; and especially the parallels between Eudocia Comnena, eventually married to William VIII of Montpellier in 1181 but at first engaged to someone else, and the figure of Berthe in the text.²⁹

The quarrel between Girart and Charles poses problems for this notion of political renewal through marriage, as we will see. Not only does the use of architectural description serve to underpin rather than transcend the quarrel between them, but also the alliance with Constantinople itself provides the impetus for the conflict. Nor does the utopia have a lasting positive effect on East–West relations. We may ask what does unify the kingdom. Although a real political *renovatio* appears to be achieved by the end of the poem, another type of renewal is also proposed, vested in monastic institutions, and it is this alternative renewal that is to be perpetuated by the text's readers.

From monarchic to monastic renewal: the shifting role of Constantinople in *Girart de Roussillon*

The remainder of the narrative of *Girart de Roussillon* is preoccupied with internal tensions within the West and with a shift in focus from an ideology invested in politics and architecture to one more concerned with spiritual renewal. The king's attitude to alliance gives rise to the main problems that attend political renewal in the text (vv. 311–597). The episode narrating Girart's exile in the forest and reconciliation with the king entertains the possibility of political renewal centred on the figure of the king (vv. 7336–8257).

²⁹ Lafont, p. 265; *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III, 480; Louis, II, 369–404. See Appendix 3 for further information. For possible Western, rather than Western–Byzantine, models, see Nickolaus, p. xxii.

The renewal of Vézelay through the activities of Girart and Berthe at the end of the text embodies a generic shift in the direction of the saint's life in the form of monastic renewal (vv. 9009–50, 9521–10001).

The motivation behind the king's demand for an exchange of brides deserves some comment. At the returning messengers' enthusiastic description of the Byzantine emperor's wealth, introduced as 'vertaders' (v. 320), Charles calls them 'lausengers' (v. 328) and retorts that the women should have been mentioned first (v. 330). The messengers' reply states that Elissent, promised to Girart, is more beautiful (vv. 339–43), and this marks the inception of the king's desire to marry Elissent instead (v. 348). When he first sees the two princesses, he kisses Elissent and makes her sit at his side, which impels the abbot of Saint-Denis to remind him that he is pledged to marry Berthe (vv. 359–68). The king's reply reveals that his true motive is jealousy of Girart: "Se Girarz lai partit, eu cai causis" (v. 370); and later it is clear that he wants to conquer Roussillon because Girart owns it (vv. 686–89).³⁰ The Pope takes charge, affirming that they cannot send the princesses back since this would make them guilty of perjury (vv. 424–26). In order to resolve the problem he asks Girart to accept the exchange of fiancées (that is, to accept Berthe instead of Elissent), and encourages him to ask the king for land as compensation (vv. 433–37, 446–49). Consequently, Girart asks the king that no homage be due for his fief (vv. 473–74).

Hence it is not the bride exchange as such which creates the rift in the Frankish kingdom, but the power struggle between the king and his vassal Girart that motivates both the bride exchange and the subsequent hostilities. My interpretation here follows that of Gaunt and Labbé; as Gaunt has noted, the princesses are thereby associated with abstract prestige rather than with material power. Their presence in the text can be viewed as a variant of the Saracen princess motif, which Kay argues actualizes the political significance of matrilineal descent.³¹ Kay terms the king's attitude 'désir mimétique', using René Girard's term to designate desire that springs from a competitive urge to possess an object already desired by someone else.³² Not only does the Pope approve the exchange, it also does not affect the real political advantages that Charles gains from the alliance, as his coronation in Rome, now under his dominion, aptly demonstrates (vv. 540–43). Yet this in itself does not achieve the renewal of the kingdom. And insofar as the exchange remains wrong, instigated by the king's sinful desire of which he does not repent, it is countered by the continuing understanding between Girart and Elissent that

³⁰ "If Girart decides there, I choose here" (v. 370).

³¹ Gaunt, 'Le Pouvoir d'achat des femmes', pp. 308–14; Labbé, 'La Comtesse Berthe', pp. 322–32; Kay, 'Contesting "Romance Influence"', pp. 323–25; *Girart*, ed. Hackett, III, 481–82.

³² Kay, 'La Représentation de la féminité', pp. 228–29; Combarieu, p. 26.

allows for the former's reconciliation with the king later in the text. Later it will remain to be seen to what extent such reconciliation can effect renewal.

Later episodes give us further clues about the king's perception of the relationship between himself and his vassal, and how this impinges on his relationship with land and thus on the community of France. These clues lie in the reiteration of the significance of the perjury, the king's attitude to the role of the crown, and the end of the battle of Vaubeton. In a royal council scene, Fouque tells the king that the sin of perjury leads to loss of land and status, the perjury in question being (it is implied) especially serious because it was witnessed by the Pope and took place in Constantinople (vv. 1990–98). Whereas Fouque defines the king's role in terms of keeping to the conditions agreed upon for the alliance, the king's attitude to the crown reveals that he defines the kingdom primarily in material terms as land.³³ Charles shows an indifference to the office of king when he complains that Girart ““Lo reiaime desfait e despersone; | Eu non(c) ai plus de lui fors la corone”” (vv. 565–66).³⁴ The battle of Vaubeton is brought abruptly to a close after a storm is interpreted by the participants as a miracle. The designation of the storm as ‘signes que lor fait Deus aparer’ (v. 2878) – ‘signs that God makes appear to them’ – implicitly recalls the similar wording used to describe the magic storm in Constantinople. But here the role of the storm is not merely to frighten the Franks through a display of utopian artifice, but to show that, despite the king's faults (and presumably the miracle is intended for both parties) the resolution of the quarrel could lead to a spiritual renewal that worked within the idea of a king-centred community.

Likewise, this notion of a community headed by the king is affirmed through the motif of penitential exile. Girart is asked his identity by the second hermit in terms of origins in a kingdom: ““Dum esse vos, amis, de cau reion?”” (v. 7416).³⁵ Similarly, he swears to let his hair grow, symbolizing the gap between him and civilized society, only until he is reinstated (vv. 7442–46); renounces the use of horse and weapons until he has done penance (vv. 7523–26); and becomes a charcoal-burner as a temporary measure (DXXXV).³⁶ The hermit's speech bears witness to this idea of the forest-wilderness as a temporary state of repentance:

³³ See Chapter 1, p. 17, for an outline of the relationship between the crown and the king's divine body.

³⁴ ““He breaks up and disfigures the kingdom; I no longer have anything more than him except the crown.”” See also vv. 6933–34, where the king draws a false parallel between disinheriting Girart (*desiritar*) and wearing a crown (*coronar*).

³⁵ ““Where are you from, friend, from which kingdom?””

³⁶ Hagiographical literature has some examples of saints voluntarily becoming charcoal-burners. The first example in the West is St Thibaut of Provins (died 1066). The *Vita Girardi comitis* (late twelfth or early thirteenth century) drew the episode where Girart becomes a charcoal-burner from *Girart de Roussillon*. See Gaiffier d'Hestroy, p. 838; Louis, III, 99–100; Farmer, p. 463.

‘Bons om, or sai qui t’a si confundut:
 Cil orguelz que troberent li cornut
 Qui jus de ciel en furent abatut.
 Angres furent en cel de grant vertut;
 Per orguel sunt diable devengut.
 De la o eres cons de grant salut,
 Pechaz t’a e orguelz si confundut
 Que ne puez aramir mais c’a vestut. [...]
 Ne vos sai conseillear, Deus vos ajut!
 Car icest siecle e l’autre aves perdut.’ (vv. 7477–97)

‘Good man, now I know what has confounded you: that pride that was first made manifest in the horned devils who were thrown down from heaven for it. They were angels in heaven of great merit; through pride they became devils. When you were a count of great fame, sin and pride so confounded you that you no longer count anything as your own, except your clothes. [...] I cannot give you advice, may God help you! For you have lost this world and the next.’

The fallen angels are a paradigm for the fate of Girart himself and they share the same sin of pride: they were once *de grant vertut*, as he was once *de grant salut*. The last line cited here confirms this strikingly positive view of civilization by explicitly equating temporal with eternal citizenship. Thus when Girart declares that he will kill Charles, the hermit sees this as an act of treachery that will lay the land waste (vv. 7505–11). Here we may recall Landri’s speech to Girart, warning him to abandon his pride lest he lose the cities and possessions which he holds, ultimately, from God (vv. 4205–13). What is surprising is not the hermit’s idealized view of the role of the city, but the place of this speech in view of what is to come later, namely the rejection of an exclusively king-centred ideology.

For the moment however, the goal of penance is return to the community in the form of reconciliation with the king. Girart’s arrival in Orléans disguised as a pilgrim takes place on Maundy Thursday (vv. 7774–75), and his reconciliation coincides with the celebration of Easter, stressing that the Resurrection serves as the paradigm for this redemption into the political world. Berthe plays an important role in preparing Girart for this return: she encourages him to repent of his anger (vv. 7513–14) and persist in prayer (vv. 7580–81), and suggests when they should return to civilization (DXXXVIII). But she also reminds him that Elissent may help (vv. 7800–11), recalling her sister’s earlier gift to Girart of a ring as a sign of her love for him (vv. 584–86).³⁷ Moreover, it is Elissent who takes charge of the hero’s reintegration, telling people that he is related to her (vv. 7846–47). She carries out

³⁷ Gaunt, ‘Le Pouvoir d’achat des femmes’, p. 310.

many of the functions that we would expect of the king himself, winning over his counsellors with gifts (vv. 7863–66, 8197). We learn that the loyalty of the future king Pepin is to his mother (vv. 8218–22).³⁸ By returning her sister's dowry to its rightful owner, Elissent is able indirectly to restore Girart to his land. Her status as Berthe's sister enables her to transcend the conflict between Franks and Burgundians which is at the root of the failure of the reconciliation, and the two marriages appear to unite France (vv. 8076–80, 8248–50).

The narrative of the establishment of the seven-year truce and final peace at first frustrates but ultimately also rewards this search for monarchic renewal, in particular through the role of the Pope (vv. 8258–9008, 9051–9520). Prior to the agreement of the truce, Elissent assures Girart of the benefits that peace will bring:

‘De ma sor, se Deu plaz, aura enfanz.
 Vos seisirez honors, qu’aires a panz [...].
 Mos fis ert cavalier proz e preisanz,
 Qui fera, si Deu plaist, de mes talanz.’
 ‘E nos’, co respont Folches, ‘sos conmanz.
 E[r] rei emperador de Rome abanz,
 E puit non l’ert del reing nu contrestanz.’ (vv. 8653–61)

‘If it please God, you will have children by my sister. You will take possession of lands, which you will have in plenty [...]. My son will be a valiant and respected knight who, if it please God, will do my will.’ ‘And we’, replies Fouque, ‘will carry out his orders. Once he is emperor of Rome, there will be no opposition in the kingdom.’

The irony of the queen's confident hope that Girart will have children is fully apparent when it is predicted shortly after that one of his sons will die young and the other will be assassinated (vv. 8960–61). Nor does the text appear to subscribe fully to Fouque's idealistic comment that the crowning of Pepin as emperor will annul differences in the kingdom. Indeed, the Pope, who agrees to play the role of peacemaker because he is related to Girart (vv. 9065–70), needs to convince Charles that the title of emperor recently bestowed on his son Pepin in Rome, who was accompanied to the coronation by Girart, is an honour to him:

‘Reis, ne creire consel gerreiador,
 Orguelloz, bobencer ne befador;
 Car ci nen ant mester lausengador. [...]

³⁸ Combarieu, pp. 30–31.

Qu[e]l dus ne te put faire plus grant honor
 Que de ton fil Pepin emperador.’ (vv. 9358–64)

‘King, do not trust in aggressive, proud, haughty or scornful counsel; for here there is no place for deceivers. [...] The duke can do you no greater honour than to crown your son Pepin emperor.’

Pride and lies, seen by the hermit as the chief cause of exile, are not automatically expelled by the achievement of political unity through Byzantium. Yet it remains the role of the Pope to effect renewal by symbolically changing the king’s name to Charles le Chauve (vv. 9462–71), dismissing his previous name as false (v. 9466).³⁹ The Pope delivers a sermon on peace (vv. 9382–9406), stressing that humility is the strongest weapon that a community can possess: “Ja contre li n’aurez castel ne tor” (v. 9422).⁴⁰ The opposition between Charles and Girart becomes a theological one, reflecting the movement for the Truce of God, whose high point was the proclamation of a ten-year peace by Louis VII at the Council of Sens (1155).⁴¹ Not only does this emphasis on internal peace sanction the renewal of the kingdom of France, it also provides a transition to the arrangement whereby Fouque takes over Girart’s land and he and others are able to ensure the continuing defence of the kingdom against the pagans (vv. 9500–02, 9933–47, 9963–80). It also prefigures the Vézelay episode with which the text concludes, since Fouque and Girart agree to rebuild the churches burned in the course of the war, and to build twenty abbeys (vv. 9423–27).

However, the Vézelay episode privileges a concept of renewal at odds with one focused on the king’s role. The text thereby raises the question of the relevance of the concept of monarchic *renovatio* for the notion of renewal that it ultimately adumbrates. The body of St Mary Magdalene is brought from the Holy Land to Vézelay, where Berthe founds a church in honour of the saint (vv. 9525–27). The *translatio* of the relic is a reward for Berthe’s piety (vv. 9009–25): if the relic materializes the saint’s role as intercessor on behalf of Berthe and Girart, Berthe herself takes on the role of earthly mediator of this boon (vv. 9540–41). Likewise, when Girart dreams of and discovers a Saracen treasure, with which he pays his men and sends money to Elissent, Berthe gives a large amount of it to the poor (vv. 9026–50). Berthe starts to steal out at night in order to help the pilgrim Guintrans with the work of constructing the church (DCXLIX). As Labbé pointed out, the two princesses’ roles as mediators does give them a certain initiative and freedom,

³⁹ Lohrmann, pp. 878–85. On the role of the Pope, see also Combarieu and Labbé, pp. 125–27.

⁴⁰ ““You will never have castles or towers that will resist it.””

⁴¹ Kullmann, pp. 181–82; Rieger, p. 649.

while the redemptive effect of Berthe's humility on the hero was prepared for earlier in the text (vv. 518–21).⁴²

Two parallel dreams, the first Berthe's and the second Girart's, clarify Berthe's mediatory role. The first dream makes explicit to the audience her role as mediator and her status as an embodiment of renewal, and at the same time intimates to us that she will encounter obstacles (vv. 9543–47). In her dream she rejects poison offered by a serpent and receives 'li grant vertuz d'es ciel' (v. 9547). In her retelling of the dream to the monk Garsent, she adds 'vas de coure' (v. 9552) to the mention of poison, and significantly glosses the reward as 'manne' (v. 9553). The monk interprets the dream with reference to the work that Berthe is doing for the poor (vv. 9555–56). One of Girart's men attempts to seduce Berthe but is rejected, and so jealously rouses Girart's suspicions about a supposed liaison between Berthe and the pilgrim (DCLII–III). Hence the second dream is intended to reassure Girart about his wife's role, and also shows us that it is Girart for whom the divine revelation is ultimately destined (vv. 9710–16). He dreams that Berthe gives him the wine of the wedding at Cana, as he recounts to the monk:

'E tenie un calice de mer or fin,
A quei m'abeura manvres d'aquel saint vin
Que Dex fest d'aigue as noces d'Archeteclin.' (vv. 9714–16)

'She held a chalice of pure fine gold, from which straightaway
she gave me to drink that holy wine that God made from water at
Archetriclinus's wedding [the wedding at Cana].'

Labbé's interpretation of this episode rightly pointed out that the Old Testament manna from heaven in the first dream and the wine from Cana (John 2.1–11) in the second are prefigurations of the two Eucharistic species. In both dreams Berthe is thereby implicitly cast in the role of the Virgin Mary, in her capacity as New Eve and representative of *Ecclesia*. He also notes that the symmetrical occurrence of the verb *abeurer* in both dreams and nowhere else in the text underlines their parallel significance (vv. 9546, 9715).⁴³

Like the second dream and following on from it in the text, the miracles performed for Berthe and the pilgrim but witnessed by Girart are intended to reassure the hero about Berthe's piety (vv. 9740–43, 9746–47, 9755–58, 9763–68). Berthe affirms that they are meant to encourage people to invoke the saint, thereby creating a community focused on spiritual renewal as its goal (vv. 9798–809). Yet when as a result Andicas advises Girart to give his wealth to God in gratitude, there is the first suggestion of a conflict of interest between the renunciation of wealth and loyalty to the king as the head of a

⁴² Labbé, 'La Comtesse Berthe', pp. 322–23, 332–33.

⁴³ Labbé, 'Lumières au ciel de Bourgogne', pp. 70–78.

political community. God appears here as a feudal overlord who sanctions an ideal of community at variance with that of Charles; if the *onor* is given to God, the *servise* to the king will be lost (vv. 9912–17). Bedelon agrees and recalls the battle of Vaubeton (vv. 9920–26), thus realigning the political and spiritual significance of that episode by leaving the king out of account. The exile and penance of the forest episode have given way to a monastic model envisaged as a permanent alternative to the city.

This alternative model of renewal is sanctioned by the last of the three retrospective narratives about Constantinople, the story that Bedelon tells Girart about Saint Sophia, which he heard from Berthe. This *exemplum* precedes the narrative of the second dream and has the same purpose of reassuring Girart. It counterpoints the dream's emphasis on Berthe's spiritual role with an examination and justification of the political implications of the renunciation of wealth:

'Dirai vos que contet ele l'autrer:
 Quant de Sainte Sufie fist reis moster,
 Si defendie la gent de son enper,
 E de Costantinoble a toz lor quer,
 Que uns nen i mesest vaillant dener.
 Mais une pauble fenme n'a desier [...].
 E Deus co li mandat, per messagier,
 Quel paubre fenme aura major loger
 Que lo reis por lo don de son or mer. [...]
 E ai veü moster Sainte Sufie;
 Eu ne quit qu'anc taus fust ne ja mais sie.
 Aico est nuns de Deu u om se fie.' (vv. 9681–703)

'I will tell you the story she told me the other day: when the king built the church of Saint Sophia, he forbade the people of his empire, and all those of Constantinople, from asking for even a denier to contribute to it. But a poor woman wished to do so [...]. And God replied to him, through a messenger, that the poor woman would have a better place than the king with the gift of his fine gold. [...] I have seen the church of Saint Sophia; I do not believe that there has ever been, nor will ever be, one like it. It bears the name of the God that man trusts.'

The emperor forbids anyone to participate in building the church, but his command is flouted by a poor woman, and a message from God establishes her spiritual superiority over the emperor's ostentation. This rewrites as negative the Byzantine emperor's use of wealth, affirmed as positive when the purpose was alliance with the Frankish monarchy.⁴⁴ It also abandons the

⁴⁴ Adler notes the use of Constantinople in this episode as a model for spiritual wealth, and sets it in the context of a historical rivalry between Vézelay and Saint-Denis.

idea of community as king-centred, since the poor citizen is exalted over the emperor.

The significance of the church's name – Divine Wisdom (Christ) – is hinted at in the last line of the passage quoted above, and since Bedelon is an eyewitness to the church's greatness, it stands as an enduring proof of the relationship between man and material wealth that is being set up here. Even if at first sight we read the *exemplum* merely as a lesson on the correct use of wealth as a means of worship, its political implications are nonetheless clear when we apply it to the situation of Girart and Berthe. The story, after all, compares Berthe to a woman whose very defiance marked her out as superior to the emperor, showing her to be a model for an alternative community of renewal. The fact that the poor woman goes out at night is a clear parallel to Berthe (v. 9691). It suggests that we should read Berthe's renunciation of the wealth that was a key factor in her role in the marriage alliance as defiance of a kingly model of community.⁴⁵ In the light of this story, the second dream, casting Berthe in the role of Mary/*Ecclesia* bringing to man the benefits of the Incarnation, could be read as a reassurance to the audience of the moral value of the *exemplum*'s political tenor.

Manuscript *P* contains an epilogue on the contemporary Vézelay that inscribes a Burgundian audience into the narrative, allowing for the possibility of renewal in the present.⁴⁶ The audience is invited to go and see for themselves the convent endowed by Berthe in order to prove the truth of its considerable wealth: 'Cel o pot be uezer que i uol alier' (v. 31).⁴⁷ The present tenses of this epilogue signify and convey the continued existence of the abbey of Vézelay (v. 12), the churches founded by the couple (vv. 18–19), the prayers said for them (vv. 28–29), and their burial-places (vv. 38–39). Moreover, the active exemplary role of this community of faith is made explicit and identified with the audience:

Deu preiem tuh essem naia loier
 La bo dona chara ses tot empier
 La mielher que anc fos ni ia non er [...]
 Aman tuh la chanso gai e marih
 Lhi gai per las proesas que an auzit
 Que de tota proesa sian plus ardit
 E lhi marih en parlen plus issernit

See Adler, 'Greco-Byzantine Vestiges', pp. 299–302, 304–9 (p. 305). On Berthe as more of a political radical than a saintly figure, see Burgwinkle, p 168.

⁴⁵ Whether she also renounces her learned education (for example, her knowledge of Greek) is debatable. Léglu has argued that Berthe in this passage is translating her multi-lingual learning into Girart's realm. See Léglu, pp. 142, 147.

⁴⁶ For the end of manuscript *P*, see *Girart*, ed. Hackett, II, 447–48; *Girart*, trans. by Combarieu, pp. 734–35.

⁴⁷ 'He who wishes to go there can see it for himself.'

E garen de far guerra ni tant turbit
E a lu et a lautre es issernit. (vv. 35–45)

Let us all pray together to God that that good and noble lady without any fault may be rewarded, the best who has ever lived nor will ever live. Happy and sad alike all love the *chanson*, the happy for the deeds of prowess they have heard, so that they may be bolder in their own deeds of prowess; the sad so that they may speak with greater wisdom and avoid causing war or other disturbance; for it brings wisdom to both kinds.

The tangible signs of the past contained in sacred sites are visible symbols of the ‘presence of the past’, to use the formulation of Stephen G. Nichols.⁴⁸ Their continued existence turns them into focal points for the renewed Burgundian community. The epilogue to manuscript *P*, like the Vézelay episode as a whole, is concerned with good works in the form of church buildings constructed by Girart and Berthe. At the end of the text proper the narrator declares that ‘les obres sunt enchades el camps remas’ (v. 9998), using the word *obres* in a way that appears to refer to that episode, and contrasting it with deeds performed on the battlefield.⁴⁹ Yet as Combarieu and Labbé suggested, the *obres* may be meant to include the poet’s own work in a celebration of clerkly activity – paralleling the inscribed clerkly narrator of the prologue, and the corresponding invective against jongleurs (vv. 4, 17, 24) – that provides a counterpart to the peace.⁵⁰

In the Vézelay episode Berthe inscribes herself into a model of rebelliousness, on the one hand making her vision of Constantinople into a different form of renewal from that envisaged by East–West relations at the start of the text, but on the other hand upholding the city’s status as an avowedly inimitable model through the retrospective narrative about Saint Sophia. The veneration at the historical abbey of Vézelay of the relics of St Mary Magdalene between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries does not seem to have been linked to Byzantium.⁵¹ The portrayal of Constantinople as a model of spiritual renewal at the end of *Girart* is thus, I would argue, highly significant. Far from being a marker of generic hybridity as it was in the *Pèlerinage* and *Eracle*, the city unites the generically disparate parts of the text (*chanson de geste* and hagiographical narrative).

The link made with the present day of the audience in the epilogue to manuscript *P* of *Girart*, allowing them to participate in renewal through Byzantium, can be contrasted with the inscribed relationship between narrator

⁴⁸ Nichols, ‘The Interaction of Life and Literature’, p. 52.

⁴⁹ ‘The works have begun and the battles ended.’

⁵⁰ Combarieu and Labbé, p. 130.

⁵¹ Maddox, pp. 96–108.

and audience in *Partonopeus*, where narratorial interventions serve rather to distance us from the marriage alliance both spatially and temporally.

An education in magic: narrating and locating Constantinople in *Partonopeus de Blois*

In *Partonopeus de Blois* too, retrospective narrative about Constantinople serves to affirm the links between female education and the status of the city as a model for renewal. The renewal adumbrated in the closing scene of the text, especially in the redaction represented by manuscript *A*, is achieved only at the expense of the destruction of the utopian city of Chief d'Oirre. This can be readily seen in two passages: first, the hero's arrival and the establishment of his relationship with Melior (*B Meta* 709–1599), and secondly his success in seeing Melior and breaking the enchantment in which she holds the city of Chief d'Oirre (*B Meta* 4399–4864).

The emphasis in the episode where Partonopeus is brought to Chief d'Oirre for the first time is on a fantastic quest for the foreign and the female, where the Western hero's senses of sight and touch – and, less successfully, his faculty of interpretation – are exploited to the full. The hero's preliminary sight of the city lays stress on subjective impressions: a description emphasizing the splendour of the walls, made of red and white marble and covered in shields (*B Meta* 797–810), is prefaced by *voit*. The narrator uses this mode of description in order to present in an ironic and comic way the hero's desire to interpret what he sees. When he notices the port (*B Meta* 813–16), Partonopeus ironically attempts to distinguish between good and evil:

Tant voit li enfes *grans* biautes
 Que molt cuide estre mesales
 Et quide que soit faerie
 Quanquil i voit de manandie
 Por quant si se porpense en soi
 Quil ne doit avoir nul desroi
 Quant il ne voit rien se bien non. (*B Meta* 819–25)

The child sees such great beauty that he thinks he is completely lost and considers whatever dwellings he sees to be enchantment. Because of this he reflects to himself that he will do no wrong if he sees nothing but good.

The city gate, streets and marble palaces are all described as the hero sees them (*B Meta* 829–52):

Sor les pomiaus *sont* li boton
 Et li aiglet *et* li dragon
 Et ymages dautre figure

Qui sanblent vives par nature
 Totes couvertes de fin or
 Par grant savoir le firent mor [...]

La veries entailles motes [...]

La veries les elemens
 Et ciel et terre et mer et vens
 Solel et lune et ans et jors
 Et les croissans et les decors
 Les estoires des tans antis
 Et les gueres et les estris
 Ne vos wel plus loer la rue
 Que nel tegnies a fafelue
 Mais nus ne set tant de favele
 Qui par deist com ele est bele
 Et quant avroit totes les rues
 Poralees et porveues
 Le mellor ne savroit eslire
 Ne ne savroit la quele est pire [...]

Tant a li enfes regarde
 En paradis quide estre entre
 Auques a joie auques dolor
 Car o sa joie a grant paor
 Il a joie de la biaute
 De la mervelle a molt pense
 Et quanquil onques a veu
 A por fantosme tot tenu. (B Meta 853–92)

On the tops are buds and eagles and dragons, and images of other shapes that seem to be alive in their nature, all covered in fine gold; with great skill the Moors made them. [...] There you would have seen many sculptures, [...] there you would have seen the elements, and heaven and earth and sea and wind, sun and moon and years and days, crescents and decorations, stories of ancient times, and wars and combats. I do not wish to praise the street to you in a way that you would not hold to be nonsense, but no one knows so much about tales that he would be able to say how beautiful it is, and even if he had been through all the streets and seen them all, he would not be able to choose the best nor know which one is the worst. [...] The child has looked so much that he thinks that he has entered paradise, he is somewhat joyful and somewhat sorrowful, for with his joy he has great fear. He has joy of the beauty; he has thought a lot about the marvels and holds whatever he has seen to be illusion.

The sculpted animals, automata and gold, together with the mention of Saracen builders and the sculptures depicting features of the natural world, mark out the palaces as a key constituent in the presentation of the city as a utopia. The use of the topos of lack of understanding which frustrates the ob-

server's attempts to discern good from bad counters our (and Partonopeus's) efforts to understand; the hero momentarily abandons the attempt, classifying the object of his admiration as *paradis*.⁵²

The organization of sense perception serves to make the material city appear distant and exotic. The hero's sight is disabled in two ways: first through the indescribability topos and second through the precedence of touch. Partonopeus soon fears that he has been 'engignies' (*B Meta* 918).⁵³ He is stunned to see no one inside the main palace, although everything is made ready for a meal (*B Meta* 977–1076). He interprets the presence of unseen hands serving him at table as evidence of 'fable' and 'ovragne de diable' (*B Meta* 995–96, cf. *B Meta* 1068). Of Melior's bedroom we are told: 'Nus clers ne vos poroit describe | Ne la matere ne lovragne' (*B Meta* 1116–17).⁵⁴ The description of the city as the centre of a lively trade in silks, spices and animals, viewed by Partonopeus from the tower, also privileges the sense of sight in the frequent use of the verbs *esgarder* and *voir* (*B Meta* 1641–1704).

Spearing reads the scene where Partonopeus seduces Melior as an exploration of feminine darkness, associating desire with touch, rather than sight and distance (*B Meta* 1277–1324). Not only does Melior fall in love with the hero through hearsay, but also her magic powers prevent her from being an object of contemplation, with the result that looking is denied the Western hero. Moreover, the story is shaped by Melior's magic, with the result that the reader too is in darkness.⁵⁵ I will return to this equation of magic with the art of narrative below. Sight engenders distance, a problem that touch overcomes. But both senses are presented so as to mediate a vision of the city as foreign. In contrast to this willing admission of a lack of understanding, the prologue to *Partonopeus* contains a long excursus on the role of the written word, drawing on St Paul as a traditional authority, in teaching people the wisdom that enables them to do good and avoid evil (*B Meta* 97–136). The narrator stressed the ethical function of narrative even for the 'fables as Sarrasins' (*B Meta* 106). In the face of the city as utopia this emerges as a highly ironic statement, since the events in which Partonopeus is caught up tend to refute such a black-and-white interpretation.

The creation through artifice of the utopia of Chief d'Oirre allows the heroine to be independent and, like the narrator, to become a creator of

⁵² On Chief d'Oirre as an urban utopia, see Gaullier-Bougassas, *La Tentation de l'Orient*, pp. 27–33. On the device of *ekphrasis* used to describe the indescribable in the text, see Schaller, pp. 127–28.

⁵³ The semantic field of *engignier* (Latin *ingenium*) is significant. It ranges in meaning from 'imagine' and 'invent' to 'fabricate' and 'deceive'. See Tobler-Lommatzsch, III (1954), 385–87. I would suggest that parallels can be drawn between the various meanings.

⁵⁴ 'No clerk could describe to you either the material or the workmanship.'

⁵⁵ Spearing, pp. 140–54. On the theme of seeing and not seeing in relation to the marvellous in this part of the text, see Ferlampin-Acher, pp. 110–13.

fiction.⁵⁶ After the seduction scene we do not get a full explanation of Melior's use of magic – this is reserved for after the magic has been destroyed – but she does say that if the hero follows her advice, he will become ruler of Byzantium, of which she is empress: 'Tote basence est mes empires | Vos en seres *et rois et sires*'" (*B Meta* 1257–58).⁵⁷ This is the only indication we have at this point in the text of Melior's Byzantine connections; and two of the manuscripts, *G* and *P*, substitute *la terre* for *basence*.⁵⁸ This allusion to Byzantium, and the presence of elements in the description that recall aspects of Byzantine culture known to the West, mingle with the depiction of the marvellous and the city's geographically imprecise location.⁵⁹ As Kay has asserted, the pun on *oirre* and Loire (vv. 4165–66) suggests that the marvellous world the hero has entered may be the Loire valley seen from a different perspective – the perspective, I would add, of the frontier of utopia.⁶⁰ Rather than being indicative of a civilizing movement of *translatio* in favour of the West, this geographical displacement is deliberately vague, rendering Chief d'Oirre a utopia. The city appears to have been made for the hero: 'Si tost *com joi de vos espoir* | Men *ving jo ci veir cest liu*' (*B Meta* 1740–41; cf. *B Meta* 1755–58).⁶¹ Having been asked to marry, Melior used her 'engien' (*B Meta* 1403) in order to seek out a suitable partner and have him brought to Chief d'Oirre. She explains her terms: the hero must wait two-and-a-half years before he is allowed to see and marry her, because then he will be old enough to be a knight (*B Meta* 1461–558). Melior's role as storyteller confirms our impression of her as controller (*B Meta* 1888–92), and her earlier surprise at the hero's presence in her bed emerges as pretence (*B Meta* 1157–62). She picks out the hero, who is only thirteen years old, because of his beauty (*B Meta* 541–86, 1357–90). Melior's dominance over the utopia allows her to choose the hero and to promise him the throne of Byzantium.⁶²

The episode recounting the destruction of the utopia strengthens this association of utopia with artifice, and thereby affirms the beneficial effects of Western domination. Partonopeus takes a lamp to Chief d'Oirre in order to see Melior, and the light from the lamp destroys her magic. She reveals herself

⁵⁶ Bruckner, 'From Genealogy to Romance', p. 29.

⁵⁷ 'All Byzantium is my empire, and you will be king and lord of it.'

⁵⁸ *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, I, 55.

⁵⁹ Bercovici-Huard, pp. 181, 187–91. Many Arthurian romances contain the topos of the beautiful city of precious stones, built by magic, perhaps associated with the heroine and offered to the hero as reward. See Guerreau-Jalabert, pp. 57, 61, 75, 107, 165, 167–68, 178, 199. Cavagna elucidates the motif of the forest in the text as a liminal space as well as a place of redemption, comparing it (on the basis of this second quality) with the forest in *Girart de Roussillon*. See Cavagna, pp. 211–19.

⁶⁰ Kay, *Courtly Contradictions*, p. 279.

⁶¹ 'As soon as I had hope of you, I came here to see this place.'

⁶² On Melior as a dominant female, see Bruckner, *Shaping Romance*, pp. 109–56 (pp. 129–34).

to be the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople (*B Meta* 4617–742). In her retrospective narrative about her Byzantine education, we witness a time when her magic was sanctioned by the authority of the emperor, the richest man in the world except for the sultan of Persia (*B Meta* 4623–25). Like Berthe and Elissent in *Girart*, Melior is her father's sole heir: 'Mes pere par argus fu cers | Des co que fui petite en bers | Quil navroit nul autre oir de moi' (*B Meta* 4627–29).⁶³ Consequently he had her taught everything with the aim of imparting *sens*: the Seven Liberal Arts, medicine, theology, astronomy, and 'nigremance et enchantement' (*B Meta* 4656). She preferred to keep her magic secret (*B Meta* 4667–72); the emperor would summon her to his *chambres* in the middle of the night to put on a magic show, and she would make the room appear as large as the whole country, conjure up elephants and lions, and fights between armed knights on horseback; she also had the power to make people invisible (*B Meta* 4673–702).

As Spearing has pointed out, the *ordo artificialis*, according to which the *Partonopeu* narrator presents this episode as retrospective, is brought about by Melior's magic art, which hides her Byzantine origins until the magic has been destroyed.⁶⁴ In the *Poetria Nova*, Geoffrey of Vinsauf praises the inversed *ordo artificialis* as superior to the linear *ordo naturalis*: 'Arrangements' road is forked: on the one hand, it may labor up the footpath of art; on the other, it may follow nature's main street. [...] More sophisticated than natural order is artistic order, and far preferable, however much permuted the arrangement be' (vv. 87–100).^{65*} However, in *Partonopeus*, artifice is emblematic of that which is most quintessentially different about Byzantium, and therefore it needs to be subordinated to the demands of the Western narrative.⁶⁶ Despite the fact that Melior is a Christian, the text's Orientalist conflation of Islamic and Byzantine culture is indicated when Melior compares her powers with the magic that made people believe in the prophet Mohammed: 'Par ce fist mahons les vertus | Dont il fu puis por deu tenus' (*B Meta* 4665–66).⁶⁷ A later mention of the astronomical knowledge of the Egyptians confirms this notion of the non-Christian Orient as a site of technical wonders (*B Meta* 7306–10). Certainly a distinction is made between knowledge and magic. After her magic is lost Melior laments that 'par moi nen iert ouvre bastie' (*B Meta* 4708).⁶⁸ She still possesses knowledge ('savoirs', *B Meta* 4711) but can no longer perform 'mervelles' (*B Meta* 4713). Yet the notion that the

⁶³ 'Through signs my father was of the opinion, since I was little in my cradle, that he would have no other heir except me.'

⁶⁴ Spearing, pp. 149–50.

⁶⁵ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, p. 36; Tilliette, pp. 74–75.

⁶⁶ On the text as enacting the dream of a wholly Westernized Constantinople, see Gaullier-Bougassas, *La Tentation de l'Orient*, pp. 84–89.

⁶⁷ 'By this Mohammed did the miracles, for which he was then held to be God.'

⁶⁸ 'Through me no work will be constructed.'

dividing line between education and magic is a very fine one persists and is found in other texts of the period, such as Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*, where the four educated fairies who embroider the hero's coronation outfit are allegories of the arts of the *quadrivium*, geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy.⁶⁹ The conflation of Byzantine education and magic in *Partonopeus* acknowledges a perceived threat posed by cultural difference, and at the same time keeps that threat at a distance through the frontier of utopia that separates Melior's upbringing from her dominance over Chief d'Oirre. The revelation, to hero and reader alike, of the heroine's Byzantine origins, not only legitimizes her and her magic powers by demonstrating that they have their origins in an imperial education, but also symbolizes the destruction of her utopian independence, which was effected by the light brought in by Partonopeus. On the one hand, this light reveals the hero's attachment to surface appearance – his inability to conceive of the utopia as anything other than a threat.⁷⁰

On the other hand, as subsequent events demonstrate, the hero's rejection by Melior is a prelude to reconciliation and renewal. After his rejection Partonopeus decides that he is only fit to die in the forest of Ardennes. In many texts this forest appears as a site of wandering and repentance. In *Girart*, it was the site of the hero's exile and a prelude to his reconciliation with the king.⁷¹ In *Partonopeus* too, the forest figures loss, and this impression is heightened by the hero's comparison of his rejection by Melior to Adam's loss of paradise (*B* Meta 5275–76). The hero's exile, however, is a prelude to his return to Chief d'Oirre and his victory in the tournament. Although Constantinople is only present as a retrospective account narrated by Melior, it is inseparable from the revelation of her identity, lineage and paternity, from which her prestige, which seals the prestige of the alliance and its acceptance by the king of France, is derived. Once the artifice with which Melior reveals her dominance over Chief d'Oirre has been undone, the hero's journey can be rewritten as a means of renewal. The light brought into Chief d'Oirre enlightens the Western audience as well as the hero and the rest of the Franks, and convinces us of the benefits of the West's triumph.

However, the narrator also counterpoints his narrative with his unrequited love for his lady. The text's many instances of narratorial intervention serve to distance us from Chief d'Oirre as a site of fulfilment. The fiction is gener-

⁶⁹ Noacco, p. 395.

⁷⁰ Ferrante, pp. 65–75, 83–86. On the polysemous nature of the marvellous in the text, see Ferlampin-Acher, pp. 398–406. On the distinction between subversive eroticism and the dynastic importance of marriage, see Nickolaus, pp. 167–73. On the separation and mingling of marvellous and non-marvellous space in the text, see Friede, *Die Wahrnehmung des Wunderbaren*, pp. 492–514, 536–39; Friede, 'Dualität und Integration', pp. 103–5, 110.

⁷¹ Duggan, p. 21.

ated by a crisis in communication, since the narrator is distanced from the fictional world, and the frame device tends to accentuate the impossibility of the narrator's union with his lover.⁷² Simons has hinted that the narrator's persona of the suffering lyric poet represents a borrowing from the *lai* tradition, and points to the intergeneric dialogue present in the text. I would add that this generic departure from the romance tradition underlies the inaccessibility of the cities of Chief d'Oirre and Constantinople in the text.⁷³ Persewis's unrequited love for Partonopeus spurs the narrator to recall his own unhappy situation (*B* Meta 6293–340, 7672–79). At the end, the narrator laments that he is still unhappy whereas Partonopeus has Melior (*B* Meta 11150–55), and promises more material if his lady should ask for it (*B* Meta 11156–201). The situation provides the opportunity for much comic irony which the narrator directs against himself, since he has no hope of winning his lady's love. Two passages contain diatribes against modern women (especially the narrator's own lady), who are too chaste (*B* Meta 6312–30, 8126–73). Not only does the comparison of present with past distance us from the relationship between Partonopeus and Melior, but the first passage occurs after the sultan's own love is described, and thus the adjective *caste* is implicitly and ironically applied to Melior's favouring of one lover over another. The narrator defends, and defines, Constantinople as utopia by standing outside of it, and by ironically equating it with sexual renunciation.

The ironic parallels recur with increasing frequency in the text's continuation, which through its portrayal of the Persian sultan, the jealous rival for Melior's hand, affirms the geographical limits and ideological limitations of the marriage idyll.⁷⁴ This continuation merits brief consideration since it is present in some form in five of the seven manuscripts of the text. It begins with the narrator informing us that his lady wishes him to tell more of the story (*T* Meta 12916–18). He criticizes the sultan's aggressive jealousy of Partonopeus which sparks off a war, and ridicules his belief that Melior loves him, but ironically this parallels his own situation (*T* Meta 12938–63, 14690–92). And when the sultan writes Melior a letter in decasyllabic couplets, he parallels the narrator in poetic as well as amorous activity (*T* Meta 16093–216). As in the main text, the narrator ironically complains that Melior's Christian morality makes her, and women in general, inaccessible (*T* Meta 16287–312). Chief d'Oirre of course, is far from representing the renunciation of earthly love, and the parallel serves to distance us from it even more.

⁷² Krueger, 'The Author's Voice', pp. 125–29; Walters, p. 229; Krueger, *Women Readers*, pp. 183, 189–90, 257.

⁷³ Simons, 'Love, Marriage and Transgression', pp. 232–33.

⁷⁴ See *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, II.1, 1–124. The continuation contains 3937 verses, and is present in manuscripts *B*, *G*, *L*, *T* and *P*. Only one MS (*T*) contains the full version; the other four continued texts are shorter, with *G* presenting the longest and *B* the shortest alternative version. See *Partonopeu*, ed. Gildea, II.2, 2, 27–34.

Chief d’Oirre is presented as a utopia not only because of Partonopeus’s looking at the material city and not understanding it, but also because of the removal of the sense of sight in favour of touch. We are temporarily invited to share the hero’s belief in the power of a utopian city that serves a compensatory function, but ultimately the utopia is exposed, just as in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, overcoming the radical distance which the reader experiences from the city. Rather than becoming a means for renewal, the utopia needs to be destroyed so that renewal may take place. Yet the distancing effect created by the fiction of the narrator’s unrequited love, especially in the continuation, undermines renewal and could also be read as exemplifying a utopian attitude to the East.

The relationship between the city of Constantinople and the Byzantine princess highlights the complexity of the theme of East–West relations in the texts examined in this chapter. In both texts, a marriage alliance between East and West is perceived as a means for political renewal. Yet Constantinople is also the source of the utopian magic and artifice that lies at the root both of the power with which Melior rules over Chief d’Oirre in *Partonopeus* and of the emperor’s games in the Constantinople episode of *Girart*. The retrospective narratives of Berthe and Melior concerning Constantinople not only shed light on the heroines’ contrasting uses of education, but also reveal radically different relationships between Byzantine emperor and princess in the two texts. Whilst they both represent Constantinople as past, exemplary, unique yet imitable, Melior’s narrative is an affirmation of monarchic renewal that destroys the utopia by revealing its status as a magic creation and the source of that magic, whereas Berthe’s is a rejection of the king-centred ideology that underpins alliance. Moreover, in *Partonopeus* the alliance is envied by other groups, both intra- and extra-diegetic, which serves to distance the reader from the renewed communities. In *Girart*, despite a suggestion of kingly renewal through the resolution of the quarrel between Charles and Girart, the Vézelay episode exemplifies the monastic rather than monarchic renewal of the West. Both texts expose the limitations of alliance as a means of renewal, and portray utopia as a totalizing space that jeopardizes renewal.

The utopia in *Girart* could be seen as a classically epic utopia, as it is dominated by the figure of the emperor. This can be contrasted with the utopia in *Partonopeus*, which is dominated by Melior. In both texts utopia is merely an episode, to be superseded by renewal. But it symbolizes the identification of individual with city, which is questioned in the epic *Girart* by the conflict between Charles and Girart, and in the romance *Partonopeus* by the accession of the hero to the empire. The different ending in manuscript *A* of *Partonopeus*, and the historical reasons for this ending, heightens our impression of Constantinople as a means of renewal. The generic hybridity of *Girart* is symbolized by the fluidity of Constantinople as a model, its multivalency. In both texts the debate on what constitutes the text proper, that is the debate

on which manuscript contains the original ending or on which generic topos the text draws on as an interpretant, is symbolized by the multivalency of Constantinople as model.

The mingling of utopia and renewal in these texts reflects a historical context in which different sites of power in the West (France) rival each other for the political overlordship symbolized by connections with Byzantium, perceived as a force for renewal. Moreover, in *Partonopeus* the characterization of the utopia reflects the topos of the marvellous city often found in romance. History and fiction mingle in this text, producing a fertile mingling of renewal and utopia respectively. The utopia is female-dominated and located in a geographically ambiguous place; the city as site of renewal is securely anchored in a (male-dominated) political and cultural context. The presence of the utopia points to the aspirational and counter-cultural role of romance.

The influence of the *lai* tradition on the narratorial voice in *Partonopeus* affirms the sense of inaccessibility with which the cities of Chief d'Oirre and Constantinople are invested in the text. As far as genre is concerned, moreover, we could go as far as Nickolaus does when he says that 'the poet has grafted epic, historiographical, and dynastic dimensions on to his amorous hero's marvelous itinerary'.⁷⁵ The text's allusions to Byzantium would in this reading not belong to the romance genre at all. Once again, Constantinople becomes a marker of generic hybridity.

In the next chapter we turn to texts that look at utopia as a potential or actual motive force for renewal. They express a Western desire for participation in the utopia, founded on a belief in achievable transformation. Renewal thus becomes more of a development of utopia, if at times unfulfilled, than an alternative to it.

⁷⁵ Nickolaus, p. 50.

Admiratio: Utopia as Social Critique

Marriage alliance can be a means of Western renewal, as we have seen. Its effectiveness is limited not only by the presence of multiple sites of renewal, but also by the alternative of positing Constantinople as a utopia. However, the issue of alliance between the Western nobility and Byzantium is sometimes relegated to a more minor role, and instead renewal is enacted through the transformation of society as a development of and participation in utopia. I will examine this problem through a discussion of the Franco-Italian *chanson de geste* *Macario*, a *remaniement* of a story derived from the French epic tradition, and Robert de Clari's eyewitness chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, the *Conquête de Constantinople*.¹

These texts are at first sight very different, but they possess several narrative elements in common: these include the motif of alliance between the West and Byzantium, sealed in the recent past; treachery perpetrated by the evil noble or steward, whether he is based at the Frankish court (*Macario*) or in Constantinople (Clari); and the exile of the calumniated wife (*Macario*) or dispossessed heir (Clari). I would like to suggest that these texts may fruitfully be analysed together. As Kay has remarked, many *chansons de geste* contain the motif of the traitor who seduces the hero's wife. The theme of the calumniated wife, a variant of the traitor motif, is also present in *Doon de la Roche*, *Parise la duchesse* and *Berte aus grans piés*, while in the last two, as well as in *Macario*, it is linked with an exile motif.² Clari's treacherous stewards show affinities with the figure of the traitor at the royal court, found in many *chanson de geste* plots. As Kay notes, such traitor narratives highlight the conflicts endemic in society, whether they exist between husband and wife, lord and vassal or (I would add in Clari's case) between rich and poor.³

¹ The editions used are: Clari, ed. Noble (cited by paragraph and line number); *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan (this edition includes all the texts in the manuscript, and locates the beginning of *Macario* at v. 13478). References to 'Clari' refer to the narrator of the chronicle; exceptions, when not immediately obvious, will be indicated in the text. Translations from Clari are from Noble's edition.

² *Political Fictions*, pp. 107–14, 159–62.

³ *Political Fictions*, pp. 178–79, 182–89, 197–99. The main social division in Clari's chronicle is that between upper and lower nobility (*haut baron* and poor knights respectively), although the latter group is conflated with that of the non-nobles (*menue gent*) to whom the narrator is also sympathetic. See Dufournet, II, 384–85.

The presence of treachery in the community that is each text's main focus leads to the exile of a member of that community; this threatens to endanger alliance, but at the same time operates a shift of emphasis onto the West's relationship with Constantinople. In both texts this relationship between the Western protagonists and Constantinople sustains the representation of the city as a utopia. But the texts present the fruits of East–West relations in contrasting ways. In *Macario*, Constantinople as utopia ultimately effects the renewal (as social transformation) of the West, whereas in Clari only the Western nobility is renewed and social conflict is left unresolved.

Divided communities: treachery, exile and alliance in the Franco-Italian *Macario* and Robert de Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople*

The reception of the Old French *chansons de geste* in Italy involved a process of copying, *remaniement* and reinvention of texts in a literary dialect, known as Franco-Italian, that uses elements of Old French and of Italian dialects.⁴ The single extant manuscript containing the Franco-Italian epic known variously as *Macario* or *Macaire* is Venice, Biblioteca della Marciana, fr. 256 (formerly XIII). The manuscript comprises a cyclical *remaniement* of French epic material, written in assonanced laisses of decasyllables, that displays considerable unity of content. It originated in the Trevisan March, an area where the Old French epic was particularly popular, and probably dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. However, it is certainly a copy; the date of the original compilation cannot be determined, but it is likely to have been produced in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵ The Old French *chanson de geste* in decasyllables, on which *Macario* is based, is now lost but is believed to date from the twelfth century.⁶ *Macario* recounts how treachery

⁴ Segre, pp. 633–45; Folena, *Culture e lingue*, pp. 377–94; Vitullo, pp. 3–6; Foligno, pp. 42, 49; Andrea da Barberino, pp. xx–xxv; *La Geste Francor*, ed. Rosellini, pp. 38, 46, 48, 56–57; *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, pp. 17–22.

⁵ *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, pp. 2–16; *La Geste Francor*, ed. Rosellini, pp. 11–23, 27–29, 31, 62–63; Ciampoli, pp. 35–42; Cremonesi, pp. 747–49; Vitullo, pp. xiii, 137. On the basis of the handwriting, Morgan dates the manuscript to between the very end of the thirteenth and the last section of the fourteenth century. See *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, p. 6. *Macario* is the last text in the manuscript, which contains the following other epics: *Enfances Bovo*, *Berta da li pe grant*, *Chevalerie Bovo*, *Karleto*, *Berta e Milone*, *Enfances Ogier le Danois*, *Orlandino* and *Chevalerie Ogier le Danois*. The names used for the texts are taken from *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, pp. xi–xii. My reference to the text as *Macario* rather than *Macaire* also follows Morgan and draws attention to its status as a Franco-Italian epic.

⁶ The only extant Old French version is in alexandrines, dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century; this exists in three groups of manuscript fragments dating from the thirteenth century, and it is not possible to reconstruct the plot from them. However, Alberic des Trois-Fontaines's *Chronica*, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth

within the Frankish nobility precipitates Charlemagne's wife's return to her father, the emperor of Constantinople. The first part of the text extends from the description of the court to the condemnation of the traitor Macario for treachery (vv. 13478–14726). The second part covers the queen's meeting with the peasant Varocher and their journey to Hungary (vv. 14727–15026). The third part narrates the messages sent to and from the queen's father and culminates in his departure for France with an army to take revenge upon Charlemagne (vv. 15027–698). The fourth part recounts the battle and reconciliation between the two parties, and ends with the return of the queen to the Frankish court and that of Varocher to the forest (vv. 15699–17068).⁷

Robert de Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople* is extant in one manuscript, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.⁸ Its author was a poor knight in the service of Pierre of Amiens, who took part in the Fourth Crusade and was an eyewitness to the crusaders' attack on Constantinople. It is likely that he intended the chronicle to be read aloud to a local audience in Picardy. It may well have been dictated in the monastery at Corbie, because he was charged by the emperor Baldwin to bring documents and relics to that monastery. Noble suggests that, given the chronicle's detail, the bulk of it was dictated in 1205 shortly after Clari's return home, with a brief epilogue added in 1216.⁹ The subject of this section will be the first part, which narrates the crusaders' journey as far as their arrival at Constantinople (I–XXXIX). It includes Clari's account of the city's recent history, marked by a series of political coups and culminating in the exile in the West of the heir to the imperial throne, Alexius IV Angelus.¹⁰

century, recounts the same story; two other versions, a fifteenth-century French prose version and a fifteenth-century Spanish version, are thought to derive from and be very similar to the alexandrine version; another similar version is contained in the late fourteenth-century *Myreur des histors* by Jean d'Outremeuse. See *Der Roman von der Königin Sibille*, pp. 9–15, 187–295, 313–28; Jean d'Outremeuse, III (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1873), pp. 42–51, 166–89; *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, pp. 219–36; Morgan, 'The *Reine Sibille/Macario* Story', pp. 2–9, 12; Bender, pp. 173–74.

⁷ For a plot summary, see *La Geste Francor*, ed. Rosellini, pp. 131–59; *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, pp. 219–20.

⁸ This is Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS 487. It contains the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims* (fols 1–44); the *Roman de Troie* of Jean de Flixecourt (fols 45–60); the *Chronique de Turpin* (fols 61–78); a French translation of Petrus Alphonsi's *Disciplina Clericalis* (fols 80–99), and finally Clari (fols 100–28). It was copied in Picardy, probably at the Benedictine abbey of Corbie. See Clari, ed. Noble, pp. xxviii–xxix; Clari, ed. Lauer, pp. iii–iv; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 7–10.

⁹ The chronicle records events up to June 1216, but Clari probably returned to France in March or April 1205. See Clari, ed. Noble, pp. xxiii, xxix; Clari, ed. Lauer, pp. v–viii; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 3–7; Dembowski, *La Chronique de Robert de Clari*, pp. 122–23; Hartman, p. 58; Dufournet, II, 341; Noble, pp. 178–79; Dembowski, 'Robert de Clari', p. 58.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, 'Alexius' refers to Alexius IV Angelus. For an account of the historical background, see Appendix 3; Dufournet, I, 19–24. On the chronicle's

Exploring the links between treachery, exile and alliance in these two texts can help us establish the role and significance of their representation of the divided community. The motif of the calumniated wife in *Macario*, as we will see, exemplifies the failure of a centripetal view of the Frankish court on which the plot is mainly focused. Clari's exploitation of the themes of treachery and exile prepares for his subsequent account of the crusaders' conquest and suggests that we interpret the crusaders' intervention in Byzantine affairs as a solution to the problem of treachery existing within the community of Constantinople. In both texts the repetition of narrative elements reveals not only the reiterated hope that harmony may be restored to the divided community, but also lays bare the pervasive presence of treachery.

The passages that act as a transition between the *Chevalerie Ogier le Danois*, which precedes *Macario* in the manuscript, and the text itself, are worth a brief look. They hint at the role played by East–West alliance in sustaining an idealized portrait of Charlemagne's kingship, but they also signal the danger posed to the court by the activities of the traitor Macario. The transition begins with a promise to renew the narrative: 'Da qui avanti se renova la cançon' (v. 13431).¹¹ The narrator then gives a summary of the story of *Ogier*, twice reasserting his pledge to provide us with something new (vv. 13449, 13452). He then provides the following summary of the *Macario* plot:

Si conteron d'une mervile gran
 Qe vene in França dapoï por longo tan,
 Poisqe fo mort Oliver e Rolan,
 Li qual fi faire un de qui de Magan,
 Dont manti çivaler mori d'i Cristian.
 E por Marchario fo tuto quello engan;
 Unde segnur, de ço siés çertan,
 Qe dapoï e darer e davan,
 En Crestentés non fo hon si sovran
 Como fu l'inperer Karlo el man,
 Ne qe tanto durase pena e torman
 Por asalter la loi d'i Cristian. (vv. 13454–65)

We will tell of a great marvel that happened a long time ago in France, after Oliver and Roland had died, which was done by one of the Maganza clan, as a result of which came the deaths of many a Christian knight, and all this was contrived by Macario. Whence you can be sure of this, lords: never before nor since was there any man in Christendom as high as the emperor Charles the great, nor who bore so much suffering and torment to exalt the Christian faith.

historical inaccuracies, see Clari, ed. Noble, pp. 136–41; Clari, ed. Lauer, pp. viii–ix; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 12–23.

¹¹ 'From here onwards the *chanson* is renewed [starts afresh]'.

This passage evokes Charlemagne's victory over the pagans, a reality in many of the other texts in the manuscript.¹² Yet in the *Macario* plot the pagans are conspicuous by their absence, and the narrator sets out the programme for the text he is about to relate, informing us of Macario's treachery and linking him through his family to Ganelon's betrayal of Roland. Macario's position at court is not specified, though he is clearly a noble and is later described as one of the king's favourites (vv. 13501–6). However, in contrast to this suggestion of the seeds of domestic disharmony, Charlemagne's relations with his Christian allies are evidently good, for his wife is the daughter of the powerful emperor of Constantinople (vv. 13471–73).¹³ There follows a rubric indicating that Charlemagne is holding court in Paris, and another plot summary praising Charlemagne and Naimés and again predicting Macario's treason (vv. 13478–500).¹⁴

Subsequent plot developments reveal not only that the community is divided by treachery and exile, but also that alliance, far from compensating for such divisions, is in fact compromised by them. When Macario tries to seduce the queen, he claims that there is no one worthy of loving her (vv. 13532–33). By questioning the queen's relationship with Charlemagne, he undermines the benefits brought to the Franks by their alliance with Constantinople. Macario fabricates a fictitious adultery by persuading a dwarf to take the king's place in bed, and the king is deceived and calls a council. Naimés advises him to defer to the emperor of Constantinople for justice to be done (vv. 13874–91). Naimés's motive, fear that the Byzantine emperor is too powerful an enemy to alienate (vv. 13895–907), is wise and politically expedient, but also hints that Charlemagne is the inferior of the two rulers.¹⁵ It is clear that the view of the Frankish court community as centripetal depends for its existence on Charlemagne's good relations with Byzantium.

The queen's exile is the result of Charlemagne's inability to solve the problem of her potential guilt within the confines of the Frankish court. The king is about to agree to Naimés's proposal to ask the Byzantine emperor for advice when Macario cuts in, insisting that she be condemned (vv. 13914–18), and the king assents. However, when she tells the abbot of Saint-Denis in confession that she is pregnant, and moreover that she is innocent of the adultery, the abbot informs the king of what he has learned, where-

¹² Several critics have emphasized that the manuscript is unified in terms of palaeographical, thematic and plot criteria. See *La Geste Francor*, ed. Rosellini, pp. 31, 62–131; Morgan, 'The *Reine Sibille/Macario* Story', p. 1; Cingolani, pp. 63–68.

¹³ The Byzantine emperor is named as 'Cleramon' in v. 15972 only, but this is probably for the rhyme.

¹⁴ Rosellini locates the beginning of the *Macario* text at v. 13501 after this summary; Morgan takes the rubric after v. 13477 as the beginning, while Guessard begins his edition with the first line of the passage quoted above (v. 13454). See *La Geste Francor*, ed. Morgan, p. 1111.

¹⁵ Krauss, *Epica feudale*, pp. 186–87; Bender, p. 173.

upon Naimés advises sending the queen into exile as a face-saving measure (vv. 14101–33). By the time the king recognizes that Macario is the traitor, the queen is already lost in the forest. The calumniated wife motif leads not only to a breakdown in social harmony within the Frankish court, but also endangers the alliance with Constantinople. As we will see, Charlemagne's banishment of his wife is an abdication of responsibility which forces him to acknowledge his dependence on his ally. This shifts the emphasis of the plot onto East–West relations and threatens the centripetal role of the Frankish court. The role played by the series of messages sent to Constantinople later in the text is significant in articulating this shift of emphasis, by transforming the Byzantine emperor into the arbiter of truth enacted through artifice, and thereby shifting the presentation of Constantinople into utopian mode.

Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople* also uses the interlinked motifs of alliance and treachery in order to stress the compensatory benefits of East–West relations. The problems faced by the community of Constantinople are outlined in Clari's three digressions on Byzantine history, which for convenience I term the Manuel, Isaac and Conrad digressions.¹⁶ The Manuel and Conrad digressions are intended to show that nobility can overcome geographical boundaries and that an alliance of mutual help and marriage exists between France and Byzantium. They contrast this with the disloyalty of the Greek nobility with regard to their emperor. In the Manuel digression, the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus supports the French at his court with such enthusiasm that, when the Greeks ask him to banish all Latins from the city, he secretly asks the French to publicly defy him and attack the Greeks in order to test their courage. The Greeks flee from the attack, leaving the emperor in apparent danger, and this leads him to reaffirm his trust in the French (XVIII). The same Frenchmen at the Byzantine court advise the emperor to ask the king of France, Philip Augustus, for his sister Agnes as a marriage partner for Manuel's son, Alexius II (XIX). However, Andronicus, one of Manuel's relatives, betrays him by seducing his sister, Theodora. On the one hand, this digression builds up a picture of the Byzantine capital as a forum where loyalties and East–West alliances can be created and tested, ruled by a pro-Western emperor who is active in his trust of the French (presumably nobles) in his service. On the other hand, it also introduces the idea of the Greeks' hostility to the foreigners in Manuel's service, and charts the rise of the traitor Andronicus who poses a threat to Manuel's ordered reign.

The Conrad digression provides a kind of inverse parallel to this. It describes an episode in the life of Conrad of Montferrat, the brother of Boniface who played a key role in the Fourth Crusade. It seeks the origin of

¹⁶ This is the order in which they are presented in the chronicle; their importance is confirmed by the fact that they occupy approximately half of the first part of the text.

Boniface's desire to conquer Constantinople in the story of a broken alliance with the Byzantine emperor (XXXIII.12–14). Conrad and all the Latins resident in the city help Emperor Alexius III to quell a rebellion, but the emperor abandons them to fight on their own. After receiving a secret warning that the emperor is plotting to kill him, Conrad leaves the city for the Holy Land (XXXIII.51–55). In this digression Clari shows us that the West's service of the East is frustrated by the cowardice and treachery of the present Greek emperor.

The Isaac digression elaborates further the same motifs, and encourages us to view the crusaders' mission to set Alexius on the throne as an attempt to restore the good model of East–West relations glimpsed in the Manuel story.¹⁷ It contrasts two noble Greeks: the treacherous steward Andronicus, and the poor returned exile Isaac. After Manuel's death, the new emperor, Alexius II, appoints Andronicus steward (*bailliu*). Andronicus seizes the throne and commits various atrocities (XXI.9–26). Isaac, a noble but poor man of the Angeli family who fled into exile, returns to the city (XXI.27–52). He kills Andronicus's steward, who has been sent to kill him.

However, it is the people of the city who play the principal role in the events surrounding Isaac's coronation and the punishment meted out to the traitor Andronicus. This encourages us to see them as an agent of divine retribution, an interpretation emphasized by Clari's note about the representation of the coup on the portals of Byzantine churches, where it is Christ and the Virgin who are responsible for Isaac's coronation (XXV.49–53). Isaac rides through the streets to Saint Sophia, and the people force the patriarch to crown him (XXII.2–25). They lead the new emperor to the Bucoleon palace and seat him on the throne of Constantine (XXIV.1–3). Isaac makes a speech praising this reversal of fortune, and rewards the people with the treasure of the palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernae (XXIV.4–8). When Andronicus is recognized and delivered up to Isaac, the latter lets the people decide the traitor's punishment (XXV.30–32). The people tie Andronicus to a camel and parade him through the streets of the city, where everyone has a hand in putting him to death (XXV.36–49).

The second half of the story repeats this pattern of an initial rupture of harmony through treachery. The new emperor Isaac II Angelus makes his brother, the future Alexius III Angelus, steward, but the latter puts Isaac's eyes out and seizes the throne (XXVII.1–XXVIII.5). Isaac's son Alexius flees to his sister, who is married to the emperor of Germany (XXVIII.5–9); thus the story ends with Alexius's exile in the West, aided by a marriage alliance.

¹⁷ Bagley, pp. 111–13; Dufournet, II, 357–59; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 73–74, 87–92; Pauphilet, *Le Legs du Moyen Âge*, p. 236; *ibid.*, 'Sur Robert de Clari', pp. 294–97; Kinoshita, 'Brave New Worlds', pp. 166–67; Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, pp. 145–52. I have drawn especially on Bagley's account of the links between the digressions and the main narrative.

The digression reiterates motifs of treachery and exile in the figure of the treacherous steward who seizes the throne (Andronicus, Alexius III), and the impoverished heir who flees into exile (Isaac, his son Alexius). The first part stresses the role of the people in punishing the tyrannical ruler Andronicus. In the second part this role is implicitly transferred to the crusaders who are to crown Alexius. A popular insurrection is thus posited as a model for the crusaders' intervention in Byzantine affairs. The East–West divide is symbolized by, and masked as, a division between rich and poor. Thus the digressions set up two political models for imitation: an ideal relationship between Eastern and Western nobles based on mutual aid and trust, and a popular revolt leading to the coronation of a good Greek and the assassination of an evil usurper.

The two texts present opposing views of the relationship between treachery and East–West relations. In *Macario* Frankish treachery prepares for the calumniated wife motif, and Charlemagne's abdication of responsibility in the matter of judging his wife leads to her exile. However, because the queen is the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, she is in a position to exact vengeance on her husband through her father's intervention, as we will see. In *Clari*, Byzantine treachery justifies Western intervention. The crusaders identify themselves with the cause of the dispossessed and vulnerable heir Alexius in order to seek compensation in Byzantium. In both texts, the Western protagonists' relationship with Constantinople exemplifies their preoccupation with legitimacy. However, the Byzantine capital is also set up as a place apart, a utopia, from which poor as well as rich can benefit. As such, in both texts the city represents a potential model for Western renewal that is at odds with a model based on an East–West alliance of nobles.

Blinding Western eyes: the utopian power of Constantinople

As I have hinted, the two texts' exploitation of the themes of treachery and exile in the context of East–West relations prepares for the protagonists' perception of Constantinople as a utopia. Both texts show us Western blindness in the face of the Byzantine capital's utopian power, but they do this in different ways. *Clari*'s description of the material city emphasizes the city's wealth, and serves in particular to highlight the rich–poor divide within the crusading army that we have already identified; finally, it makes the city predict its own downfall at the hands of its Western conquerors, an event that occasions the destruction of the utopia. The second and third parts of *Macario* portray Constantinople as a source of artifice and negotiating ability which underlines the division between the Frankish nobility and the peasant Varocher. The characteristic feature of Constantinople as utopia in both of these texts is its ability to blind the eyes of Western onlookers, whether the latter are Charlemagne and Naimes or the marvelling crusaders.

Clari's description of Constantinople occupies only approximately one-fourteenth of the whole chronicle (LXXXII–XCII).¹⁸ It occurs at a point where the crusaders have captured the city and gathered the spoils, and the leaders of the army have occupied the city's palaces. Like the rest of the chronicle, it is written in the third person and contains no indication of the narrator's personal participation. Indeed, the order in which Clari describes the sites does not seem to follow a deliberate plan, and does not give the impression that he is reporting the linear progression of any particular itinerary. The transition between the sites is generally effected simply with the phrase 'ailleurs en le chité' or similar.¹⁹ Anna Maria Nada Patrone goes as far as to suggest that Clari may only have visited the eastern side of the city along the Golden Horn.²⁰

However, the episode can be distinguished from the rest of the chronicle in its emphasis on the description of sites rather than the narration of a sequence of events. Zumthor's distinction between narration and description highlights the tension in medieval travel accounts between a mode that stresses the diachronic, unique and irretrievable experience of the journey, and one that privileges the permanent, synchronic, presence of the sites visited. The role of Clari's description in giving an impression of permanence is emphasized by the fact that it incorporates into its description of the sites diachronic elements such as anecdotes, concerning topics ranging from religious legends and past imperial customs to aspects of the contemporary life of the city. Clari's use of anecdotes subordinates the changes that take place through time to the notion of the city as a synchronic, ever-available, material presence.²¹ The diachronic view they embody establishes connections between different periods of the city's history and presents the city as a model for an ideal utopian relationship between rich and poor.

Clari begins his description with the Bucoleon palace. The palace complex includes the church of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos, which he calls the 'Sainte Capele' (LXXXII.6). In an anecdote he explains the origin of two of the relics contained in this church.²² These are a tile and a towel, placed

¹⁸ For discussions of the city description, see Pauphilet, 'Sur Robert de Clari', pp. 303–10; *ibid.*, *Le Legs du Moyen Âge*, pp. 233–36; Dufournet, II, 347–56; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 74–76, 100–3; Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', pp. 93–99. For information on the historical referents, see Chapter 1, pp. 9–14; Clari, ed. Noble, pp. 139–40; Clari, ed. Lauer, pp. 115–16; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 102–13.

¹⁹ LXXXVII.1, LXXXVIII.1, LXXXIX.1, XC.1, XCI.1, XCII.1.

²⁰ Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 75–76.

²¹ Zumthor, 'The Medieval Travel Narrative', pp. 812–13. Bratu has remarked recently that Clari included the city description partly because it allowed him to introduce anecdotes into his text. See Bratu, p. 69.

²² Clari brought back to Corbie two reliquary crosses from the Bucoleon palace. See Clari, ed. Lauer, pp. vi–vii, 115; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 5–6, 103; Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', pp. 95–96; Hartman, pp. 117–20. In listing the monuments and buildings

in two gold receptacles hanging from the roof by a silver chain, a reminder of location that frames the anecdote's beginning and end (LXXXIII.1–15). The official Byzantine version of the anecdote commemorated the translation of the portrait of Christ, made for King Abgar of Edessa, from Edessa to Constantinople in the tenth century.²³ Clari's version locates the events of the legend in Constantinople and sets it in the context of service to the poor. The story concerns a holy man who is tiling a widow's house. Christ appears to him, imprints his features on the cloth he is wearing, and tells him to cure the sick with it. The man hides the cloth under a tile and the image becomes transferred to the tile. Clari develops this theme of Christ as an imitable model for Byzantium by listing the relics of the Passion contained in the same church (LXXXII.11–20). The church of the Virgin of Blachernae also contains a Passion relic, the *sydoines* with which Christ was wrapped in the tomb, which Clari says was also imprinted with his features (XCII.24–28).²⁴ The theme is likewise affirmed by the miraculous properties of the artefacts in the church of Saint Sophia, whose name he mistakenly records as 'Sainte Trinités' (LXXXV.2). Its jasper and porphyry columns are said to have healing properties, as does the tube hanging on the door (LXXXV.5–7, 21–28). Clari's emphasis on sacred artefacts complements his designation of the crusaders as *pelerins*, and implies that Constantinople itself, as well as the Holy Land, is to be viewed as the goal of the pilgrimage. He notes that the king of Nubia is in Constantinople expressly for the purpose of such a pilgrimage, in the course of which he is also visiting Jerusalem, Rome and St James of Compostela (LIV).²⁵

The utopia is formed not only of the implicit participation of the people in city life but also of the idealization of the role of its emperor. When Clari describes the palace of Blachernae at the other end of the city, he mentions that it contains material traces of the city's past imperial life: crowns, jewels, robes and precious stones 'qui avoient esté as empereeurs qui par devant i furent' (LXXXIII.22–23).²⁶ Monumental architecture plays a key role in

described by Clari, I have for convenience given the names of the historical referents of his description, where these are known; in some cases I have supplemented this with the names used by Clari. References to the various arguments on the identity of the sites are given in footnotes.

²³ Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 104–5.

²⁴ Clari is referring to the *sindon* (shroud), which was in the church of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos. A confusion existed between this and the *sudarium*, the sweat cloth of St Veronica. See Dembowski, 'Robert de Clari', pp. 64–66.

²⁵ Hartman, pp. 111–17; Clari, trans. by Nada Patrone, p. 83; Kinoshita, 'Brave New Worlds', p. 168.

²⁶ '[...] which had belonged to emperors who lived long ago'. The halls of the palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernae are both decorated with gold mosaic, 'a ore musike' (LXXXII.4–5; LXXXIII.19–20). See Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', p. 93; Chapter 1, p. 10.

commemorating and embodying imperial power. Thus Clari stresses the role of the Golden Gate in the celebration of an imperial triumph (LXXXIX).²⁷ In front of Saint Sophia stands the equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian, which Clari calls a statue of the emperor Heraclius (LXXXVI.5–6). He notes the hand pointing eastwards, the inscription defying the Saracens, and the globe with the cross, a symbol of sovereignty submitting to Christ (LXXXVI.6–8).²⁸ The description of the church of the Holy Apostles, which Clari mistakenly calls ‘le moustier des .vij. Apostres’, plays a similar role (LXXXVII.1–2).²⁹ The church contains seven bodies of apostles (Clari’s error), as well as the imperial tombs, including that of Constantine (LXXXVII.4–7).³⁰ In a similar vein, he notes that the church of Christ Pantocrator contains the tomb of the emperor Manuel, as well as the marble slab on which Christ was laid after his death (XCII.28–33).³¹ The equestrian statue of the Emperor Justinian (misinterpreted by Clari as Heraclius) provides a model of *imitatio Christi* that is made more explicit in the bodies of apostles surrounding the tomb of Constantine, which set up a parallel between the Byzantine emperor and Christ. Moreover, the association, in the church of Christ Pantocrator, of the emperor Manuel with Christ’s sacrifice may lead us to recall the Manuel digression, which would also imply that the material city is here proposed as a model for Western renewal.

Visitors (such as Clari the protagonist) as well as citizens can benefit from the city’s protection and revel in its luxury. On an unidentified gate, Clari describes a sphere that prevents thunder from striking the city; on it is a statue wearing a golden cloak, inscribed with the statement that anyone who lives in Constantinople for one year will own a similar cloak (LXXXVIII).³² Yet the chronicle’s Byzantine topography is dominated by the marks of its own inevitable decline. Clari’s brief focus on the custom of watching the games at the Hippodrome concludes with the remark that the copper statues of men and animals on its walls used to move ‘par encantement’, but are now merely statues, automata no longer (XC.14).³³ This tends to make the city more available and accessible as a potential model for Western renewal.

²⁷ Colliot, ‘Fascination de l’or’, p. 99.

²⁸ See Chapter 1, p. 12; Chapter 2, pp. 44–45.

²⁹ Pauphilet suggests the error may be that of Clari’s guide, and hypothesizes that his French was poor. See ‘Sur Robert de Clari’, p. 310.

³⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 10.

³¹ Clari does not in fact mention this church by name. See Clari, ed. Noble, p. 140; Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 113. Colliot notes that in July 1205 the crusaders sacked the imperial tombs in these two churches, and suggests that Clari may be referring to this event in his later criticism of the sack of the city. See ‘Fascination de l’or’, pp. 105–06.

³² This gate has been tentatively identified with the Gate of the Gyrolimné, in the northwest of the city next to the palace of Blachernae; Clari, ed. Noble, p. 140; Colliot, ‘Fascination de l’or’, p. 99; Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 108.

³³ Dembowski, ‘Robert de Clari’, p. 63. For the view that Clari is referring here not to

This sense of the city's accessibility, which counters its status as a utopia, is heightened in two anecdotes where Clari inscribes the crusaders' conquest into the city's architecture. One of the anecdotes concerns a copper statue in the form of two women, one of whom points westwards, bearing an inscription predicting that the West will conquer Constantinople (XCI.1–5). These statues stand in front of the place where the moneychangers used to work, and Clari notes that there are fewer of them after the conquest (XCI.6–9).³⁴ The other anecdote concerns the prophetic inscriptions on the city's columns.³⁵ The Greeks are only able to understand the prophecies after the event, and this is also true of the current conquest (XCII.5–14). As we will see, the inscriptions also predict the treachery of Alexius Murzuphlus and his punishment by the crusaders, narrated later in the chronicle. This attributes a prior knowledge of the conquest to the material city, which exerts a real power over its Greek inhabitants and favours its Western conquerors. By colluding in its own downfall, the utopia sanctions Western dominance.

However, Clari's evocation of the distance between the Western onlookers (narrator and protagonists) and the city is diametrically opposed to the effect of permanence created by his privileging of an anecdotal mode. His frequent qualifications that he is unable to describe the city properly, and especially his characterization of the material city as a *merveille*, are more than narrative convention. Marked by an awareness of the omnipresence of gold and a lack of distinction between sacred and secular wealth, the language the narrator uses emphasizes his distance from what he is attempting to describe.

In accordance with this emphasis on distance, Clari brings his tour of the sites to a close with the comment that we would not believe him if he tried to describe everything he saw:

[...] des autres mervelles qui i sont vous lairons nous ester adire. [C]ar nus hons terriens, qui tant eust mes en le chité, ne le vous porroit nombrer ne aconter, que qui vous en conteroit le chentisme part de le riqueche, ne de le biauté, ne de le nobleche qui estoit es abeies et es moustiers et es palais et en le vile, sanleroit il que che fust menchoingne ne ne cresriés vous mie.
(XCII.20–24)³⁶

automata but to statues believed by the inhabitants of Constantinople to have extraordinary powers, see Macrides, p. 207.

³⁴ Colliot has linked Clari's apparent regret at the absence of the piles of gold with his mention of the passage in the Isaac digression where Isaac rewards the people with treasure. See 'Fascination de l'or', pp. 103–4.

³⁵ For different opinions on the identity and location of these columns, see Clari, ed. Noble, p. 140; Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 111; Clari, ed. Lauer, p. 116. For the theme of fatality, see Hartman, p. 181.

³⁶ For other examples of the use of the phrase 'on ne vous porroit mie aconter' (or similar) in the city description, see LXXXII.10, 19; LXXXIII.20–21, 25; LXXXV.9, 14; LXXXVII.3–4; XCII.16–17.

[...] the other wonders which are there I will give up telling you about them. For no man on earth, however long he had stayed in the city, could number or recount them to you, for were he to reckon even the hundredth part of the wealth or the beauty or the nobility which was in the abbeys and churches, the palaces and the city, he would seem to be a liar, nor would you believe him.

The eyewitness, guarantor of authenticity and objectivity, validates the truth of his story precisely by leaving it untold and setting it at a distance from the reader (*vous*). A similar awareness of distance between narrator and subject matter is apparent at the end of the chronicle, when the reader is guaranteed the truth of the story through Clari's third-person self-naming:

Ore avés oï le verité, confaitement Coustantinoble fu conquise, et confaitement li Cuens de Flandres Bauduins en fu empereres, et mesires Henris ses freres après, que chis qui i fu et qui le vit et qui l'oï le tesmongne, ROBERS DE CLARI, li chevaliers. [E]t a fait metre en escrit le verité, si comme ele fu conquise. [E]t ja soit chou que il ne l'ait si belement contee le conquete, comme maint boin diteur l'eussent contee, si en a il toutes eures le droite verité contee. Et assés de verités en a teutes qu'il ne peut mie toutes ramembrer. (CXX.1-7)

Now you have heard the truth, how Constantinople was conquered and how Baudouin the Count of Flanders was emperor and succeeded by his brother, Lord Henri which is the testimony of one who was there, who saw and heard it, ROBERT OF CLARI, knight. And he has had the truth put in writing of how it was conquered. And although he may not have described the conquest so finely as many good tellers of tales would have done, nevertheless he has told nothing but the truth. And he has omitted very many things that are true because he cannot remember them all.

This technique of authorial naming in the third person, common in the earliest Old French prose chronicles, sanctions the authority of the eyewitness. The veracity of Clari's chronicle derives precisely from its interpretative nature, its status as a retrospective account written for a given purpose: namely, in order to tell us about conquest and about the succession of two Latin emperors. It is this to which he bears witness (*tesmongne*), and which he records (*metre en escrit*) as both eyewitness and author in the moment of self-naming. The chronicle's veracity comes from its narrator's self-limiting, as well as self-authenticating, remarks. The end of the passage cited above shows the limits of the narrator's ability to tell the story.³⁷

Moreover, although as I mentioned above, the city description does not overtly follow any particular protagonist's itinerary, Clari does include references to the crusaders' status as observers. These occasional references to

³⁷ Marnette, *Narrateur et points de vue*, pp. 42, 101-3, 195-98; Greenblatt, p. 34.

the mute wonder that the crusaders experience allow us to discern behind the narrator's self-limiting remarks a prior act of seeing and wondering on the part of Clari the protagonist; the traces of this act reveal an encounter that cannot be adequately conveyed in language. The crusaders' presence as silent witnesses stands as an acknowledgement of the distance between the West and its utopian object of contemplation. Hence by revealing the limits of language, the experience of wonder shared by narrator and protagonists stresses the loss of the utopia.³⁸

Clari also authenticates his description, and compensates for his personal experience of wonder, by acknowledging the Greeks as oral sources for the anecdotes he recounts. Just prior to the city description he uses the phrase 'et si tesmongnoient li Griu' to back up his personal opinion of the great wealth to be found in Constantinople, at a point in the narrative where the crusaders are gathering the spoils (LXXXI.9). A similar phrase, 'disoient li Griu' (or a variation of this), is used in the city description to authenticate two of the anecdotes (LXXXVI.8; LXXXVIII.2). The anecdotes can be read as substitutes for Clari's own seeing, lost as it is in the experience of wonder. In conclusion, the distinction between a narrative mode, evoking the onlookers' relationship to the city, and a descriptive mode, relying on the evidence of anecdotes, exemplifies and highlights the distinction between the representation of Constantinople as a pure utopia and its status as a utopia that has the potential to be a model for Western renewal.

In *Macario* the distinction between utopia and renewal is more clear-cut, defined as it is by the conflict between the Frankish nobility, for whom Constantinople is an inaccessible utopia, and the faction represented by the queen and Varocher, whose participation in the utopia paves the way for reconciliation and renewal. The second part of the text recounts how the queen's association with Varocher replaces her relationship with Charlemagne and prepares for the active role played by her father, the Byzantine emperor, in avenging her banishment. Varocher, a conventional wild-man figure, is introduced to us as a man carrying a bundle of wood for his family, whom the queen meets on the edge of the forest (vv. 14723, 14734–38).³⁹ The narrator describes him as strange (v. 14776), and this is corroborated by the citizens of Venice who laugh at him as he and the queen pass through

³⁸ Other examples of Clari's use of a discourse of wonder include the circumlocutions he employs to describe unfamiliar Byzantine objects, and his repeated remarks that the value of the gold, omnipresent in his description, cannot be measured; for the city as a *merveille/merveille*, see LXXXIX.2, XC.1; XCI.1; XCII.2, 14; for the crusaders' act of marvelling, see LXXXIV, XCII.14–15, XC.15; the last example contains the phrase 'esgarderent li Francois a merveille' which emphasizes the scopic dimension of wonder. For the use of the verb *merveillier* in other parts of the chronicle, see X.2–3, XIII.29–30, XL.11. See Chapter 1, pp. 29–30; Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', p. 95; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 36–38; Pauphilet, 'Sur Robert de Clari', pp. 302–3.

³⁹ For the sources of my interpretation of the role of Varocher, see note 44 below.

the lagoon (v. 14786). When they arrive in Hungary, people think that Varocher is mad (vv. 14797–800), he is repeatedly associated with the stick he holds (vv. 14773–75, 14836–37), and the king of Hungary ridicules him as an ‘homo salvaço’ (v. 14882). His role of surrogate husband is affirmed when he introduces the queen to their hosts as his wife, and accompanies their host to church to see the queen’s child baptized.

The king of Hungary takes over from Varocher the role of the queen’s protector when he notices a cross on the child’s shoulder proving that he is a king’s son. Thus it is the king of Hungary who, at the queen’s request, sends a messenger to Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor’s reply asks that the queen be sent to him and swears revenge on Charlemagne for banishing her (vv. 15120–27). But this replacement of Varocher with the king of Hungary and the emperor of Constantinople as principal protectors of the queen does not entail the peasant’s disappearance from the narrative. Indeed, two passages prepare us for the significant role that he is to play in the final part. In the first of these, the king of Hungary has Varocher dressed richly (vv. 15039–41), a change that paves the way for the peasant’s later social elevation through knighthood. The second passage, which recounts the Byzantine army’s preparations for departure from Constantinople, briefly mentions Varocher and his stick, preparing us for his role in the battle with which the text concludes (vv. 15692–94). We will look at this final part of *Macario* later.

It is my contention that the messages sent to Constantinople, by making the Byzantine emperor the arbiter of truth, allow him to constitute his city as a utopian power. The scene shifts to the Frankish court, and we learn that a messenger, Bernard de Montdidier, was sent to Constantinople twice with the task of explaining categorically why Charlemagne had decided to condemn the queen (vv. 15190–212). Moreover, before Bernard arrives in Constantinople on his second visit, the queen arrives there and is able to tell her father the full story (vv. 15413–22). Instead of revealing to the Frankish messenger that the queen is safe, the Byzantine emperor manipulates Charlemagne by pretending that he still has no knowledge of the queen’s whereabouts. This lends the Byzantine emperor an unparalleled authority which forces Charlemagne to acknowledge his limitations.

Two passages confirm this interpretation of the role of the utopia by indicating that Charlemagne’s claim to sovereign power is self-destructive. In the first passage, Bernard begins his speech to the Byzantine emperor (on his first visit to Constantinople) with the words “‘*Karlo li rois, le maine encoroné | Qe soit en tot le mondo de la Cresteneté*’” (vv. 15220–21).⁴⁰ Intended as an affirmation of power, the speech precipitates the Byzantine

⁴⁰ “‘Charles the king, the greatest one there is to wear a crown in the whole world of Christendom’”.

desire for revenge that has a detrimental effect on Charlemagne's authority. The second passage occurs when, in reply to the Byzantine emperor's threat of war, Naimes retorts that after a woman marries she should no longer have recourse to her mother and father (vv. 15604–13). This expression of faith in a centripetal system focussed on the Frankish court is also a rejection of the ties of alliance without which that system cannot function. Because Charlemagne attempts to be independent of Constantinople, he is blind to the power of Constantinople as utopia.⁴¹

Two examples will suffice to identify the effects of Byzantine artifice on the roles of Charlemagne and Naimes. In the first of these, the Byzantine emperor asks Bernard (on the latter's first visit) that his daughter be sent to him, but by the time Bernard returns to France, the queen is lost in the forest, and in despair at what to do Charlemagne turns to Naimes:

‘Jamés *non* fo veu un si pesimo tiran.
 E vos estes rois tros en Jerusalan,
 Sor tote rois estes li sovran.
 A quele rois, q'era vestre paran
 Excuser vos estoit, qe *non* savés nian,
 Dapoqe fo parti da vos por çu[ç]emant [...].’
 Dist l'inperer: ‘Vos estes li Sovran,
 Qe se trovase tros en Jerusalan,
 Qe en vos se fie po ben eser certan;
 Non avoir mal la sira ni la deman.
 Sor tot li saçes, estes li capitan;
 Vu serisi ester eser bon çapelan,
 Por conseler tot le Cristian.’ (vv. 15340–55)

‘Never was a worse tyrant seen, and you are king from here to Jerusalem, you are lord over all kings. You should present your excuses to that king who was your relative, saying that you know nothing after she left you as judgement decreed.’ [...] The emperor said: ‘You are the highest man to be found from here to Jerusalem. Whoever puts his trust in you can be certain not to suffer misfortune, neither in the evening nor in the morning. You are leader over all the wise; you should have been a chaplain, to guide all Christians.’

The reiterated mutual praise of king and counsellor contrasts sharply with the ineffectual advice. Despite his possession of the title of sovereign king as far as Jerusalem, Charlemagne is advised to admit that the limits of his knowledge stretch no further than the limits of his court. In the second passage Naimes replies to Charlemagne's lament at the disasters that have befallen

⁴¹ Vitullo has noted that the critique of the figure of Charlemagne in *Macario* resembles that of the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (pp. 24–26).

him, by stating four times (with variations) that “no so qe m’en die” (vv. 15729–43). In both of these examples the refusal to give advice overturns the model of the ideal counsellor.⁴² This discrepancy between ideal and reality concerning the respective duties of king and counsellor is brought to light by the presentation of the Byzantine emperor’s utopian power.

Two of the extant French versions of the *Macario* story include several elements not found in the Franco-Italian version. The queen and Varocher (under various alternative names) are helped in the forest by the robber Grimoart, and housed by a hermit whose brother is the emperor of Constantinople. The queen’s sentence of banishment is decided upon with no reference to the problem of whether to inform her father. Instead the Byzantine emperor sends an army to conquer France at the request of the queen, and she travels openly with the army. She also travels to Rome to secure the support of the pope, and it is with his aid that the quarrel is patched up, with the Greeks suing for peace and the pope persuading Charlemagne to take the queen back. So the narrative operates within a much broader and clearer political and cultural context. The Franco-Italian version contains a number of plot innovations relative to the French tradition of the story. These include the more developed figure of the traitor, the series of messages sent to and fro between France and Constantinople, the Byzantine emperor’s decision to hide the queen’s whereabouts, his knighting of Varocher, and the considerably more active roles of both of these characters. On account of this, stemmas set the Franco-Italian version apart from the French.⁴³ It will be clear from this that the features that make Constantinople a utopia, most of which I have discussed in this section, are germane to the Franco-Italian version.

The representation of Western relations with Constantinople in both texts exemplifies the complex intermingling of utopia and renewal. Clari’s portrayal of Constantinople as a utopia stresses its status as past and distant, at once destroyed by conquest and set at arm’s length through the experience of wonder. But it also plays a compensatory role that strengthens the text’s implicit identification of the crusading army with the Byzantine people, and points towards the potential for utopia to be transformed into renewal. In *Macario* the presentation of Constantinople as a utopia underlines the Frankish court’s blindness. Because the Franks are blind to the Byzantine emperor’s power and how it relates to their own centripetal world view, they are also blinded by Byzantine political astuteness, negotiating ability and desire for revenge. However, as we will see, Varocher’s participation in the utopia paves the way for Constantinople to be a means of renewal. The contrast between *Macario* and Clari thus appears as one between actual and potential renewal.

⁴² For other passages where Naimés reveals his inability to provide effective counsel, see vv. 15488–97, 15744–46.

⁴³ For the other versions of the story, see note 6 above.

From utopia to renewal: the resolution of social conflict

In the final part of *Macario*, the reconciliation of Greeks and Franks turns Constantinople from a utopia into a means of renewing France. In contrast, Clari's narrative of the conquest of the city jeopardizes the idea of Byzantium as a means of renewal. An inverse relationship thus exists between these two texts in their representation of the influence of social conflict on the Western communities' capacity for renewal through East–West relations.

Various episodes in the final part of *Macario* combine to strengthen the association between Varocher and Constantinople.⁴⁴ He asks the Byzantine emperor to make him a knight (v. 15954), which operates a transformation in his appearance, since he now sits on a warhorse and carries a sword.⁴⁵ But his main exploits involve sneaking into Charlemagne's camp at night, stealing horses, treasure and weapons, and bringing them back to the Byzantine emperor.⁴⁶ This tends to complement the emperor's manipulation of the Franks, which we looked at earlier. When Varocher renounces his life in the forest and expresses a preference for life as a knight, it is clear that his service of the Byzantine emperor, though unorthodox, marks a sharp contrast from his earlier life (vv. 16411–25). As a further affirmation of their association, the Byzantine emperor promises Varocher money and land if he wins the duel proposed in order to settle the dispute; and in return Varocher promises homage (vv. 16457–63).

However, although he nominally serves the Byzantine emperor, Varocher is not wholly identified with the Greek faction. The queen asserts that he has in fact best served her *signor* (presumably Charlemagne), by keeping her safe (v. 16243). Moreover, the battle is brought to a close through a compromise of which Varocher is the main orchestrator.⁴⁷ This reconciliation is achieved by the duel between him and Ogier. Exacting a promise from Ogier not to tell anyone, Varocher lets out the secret of the queen's presence in the Greek camp. As the duellers arrange, Ogier reports back to Charlemagne with the news that Varocher, the best knight in Christendom, has defeated him (vv. 16667–68), and asks the king to make peace with the Greeks. Yet since this peaceful resolution of the duel remains a secret, the illusion of Byzantine power is, in the eyes of Charlemagne and Naimés, maintained. The Byzantine emperor's domination over the Frankish king culminates in a fictitious, but nonetheless effective, Greek victory.

Moreover, Charlemagne's recognition of the Byzantine emperor's fictional superiority, a recognition that is achieved through Varocher's role as mediator,

⁴⁴ My discussion of the role of Varocher is indebted to the following works: Krauss, 'Von Varocher zu Ispinaro', pp. 196–99; Krauss, *Epica feudale*, pp. 189–96; Jonin, p. 189; Vitullo, pp. 43–46, 55–61; Bender, pp. 173–74.

⁴⁵ See vv. 15977–93, 16013, 16160–72.

⁴⁶ See vv. 15794–99, 16063–71, 16090–97, 16196–99.

⁴⁷ Krauss, *Epica feudale*, p. 197.

restores Naimés's abilities as counsellor. On Naimés's return to the Frankish court, after peace has been successfully negotiated, he is able to inform Charlemagne that the queen is safe (vv. 16887–89). After the reconciliation the narrator intervenes with a panegyric of Charlemagne (vv. 16979–83), which I think should be taken at face value as a sincere indication of the restoration of full awareness to Charlemagne as the most sovereign king (v. 16981).

By persuading Charlemagne to give in to a fiction of Frankish defeat, Varocher restores harmony to the Frankish court. His possession of the title of knight, conferred on him by the emperor of Constantinople, makes him capable of renewing France. Indeed, despite Varocher's earlier speech contrasting forest and knighthood as two opposing worlds, the text ends with their reconciliation. The Byzantine emperor returns to Constantinople, and Varocher takes the wealth he has acquired – presumably from the Byzantine emperor, although the text does not say so explicitly – back to the forest, transforming his family's dress, housing and eating habits with his new-found wealth (vv. 17055–64). The queen's request that Varocher come back to the court (v. 17031), and the narrator's concluding remark that he became a champion at the Frankish court (v. 17065), shows that the West is renewed only at the expense of the integration of the forest. The renewal of the court through the restoration of Charlemagne's authority is dependent upon the king's good relations both with his allies and his social inferiors.

In Clari's chronicle, by contrast, the failure of the utopia to transform itself into a motive force for renewal testifies to the enduring presence of social divisions within the crusading army. These divisions reduce our impression that the crusaders' conquest of the city can fully imitate the model of East–West relations proposed in the digressions. As we saw earlier, Clari suggests in the early part of the chronicle that we are to interpret the crusaders' coronation of Alexius as an imitation not only of the role of the French in the Manuel digression, but also of the Byzantine people in the Isaac digression. These parallels are to some extent reiterated in the narrative of the crusaders' conquest. The allusions to these two motifs are combined when the citizens invite the crusaders into the city to crown Alexius and liberate Isaac from prison, drawing an implicit parallel between the crusaders and the French nobles/Byzantine people from the Manuel and Isaac digressions respectively (LII.1–13). The parallel continues when the newly crowned Alexius liberates one of his people, Alexius Murzuphlus, from prison, and makes him head steward (*maistre bailliu*). Even if we fail to recognize this motif of treachery from the digressions, Clari tells us that evil will come of it (LII.15–19).

Moreover, Clari's transformation of Alexius from a good ruler, resembling Manuel or Isaac, to one resembling Alexius III, the emperor who featured in the Conrad digression, is meant to justify and sanction the crusaders' subsequent conquest of the city. Alexius is unpopular with the Greeks, and soon refuses to keep his financial promises to the crusaders (LVII–LVIII). By insisting that the crusaders deserve a reward for their part in helping to

conquer the surrounding territories (LVII.1–5), the doge’s colourful threat to Alexius that “‘nous t’avons [...] geté de le merde et en le merde te remetrons’” hints at a parallel with Isaac’s rewarding of the Byzantine people in the Isaac digression (LIX.16).⁴⁸ But unlike Isaac in the digression, Alexius leaves the crusaders unrewarded. Instead, he resembles the treacherous emperor of the Conrad digression, since on the advice of his counsellors, among them Murzuphlus, he asks the French to leave (LVIII.6–LIX.6). He fails to live up to the model of East–West alliance provided in the digressions, and instead conforms to their model of Byzantine treachery.

Similarly, when Murzuphlus subsequently usurps the throne and murders Alexius, Clari’s emphasis on the treacherous nature of the coup serves to prepare for Western conquest by presenting that conquest as a valid replacement for the broken alliance with Alexius. It does this partly through the episode of the icon of the Virgin captured by Henry of Flanders.⁴⁹ The crusaders appear to share the Byzantine belief that the icon protects all those on its side in battle, and hence believe that their ability to capture it proves that Murzuphlus is a traitor (LXVI.9–14). When the crusaders succeed in capturing the icon they parade it openly to prove they have done so (LXVI.48–LXVII.3).⁵⁰ Similarly, Clari stresses that the conquest is justified because the Greeks are ‘desloial’ (LXXIII.5) and have murdered their lord (LXXIII.5–6).

As a result of these reiterated parallels, when Clari explains the process by which Baldwin of Flanders is elected as emperor, we may assume that he is proposing not only that the West can successfully imitate Byzantium, and thereby be renewed, but that the Western poor can also benefit from that imitation. Certainly, the crusaders assert that the choice of emperor should be accepted by everyone, even if a ‘povre chevalier’ (such as Clari himself, we wonder) were to be elected (XCIII.12). He describes the coronation in detail, stressing the role played by the bishops, abbots and high barons of the host:

[E]t quant che vint au jour, si monterent et li vesque et li abé et trestout li haut baron et Venicien et Francois, si s’en alerent u palais de Bouke de Lion. Adont si en amenerent l’empereur au moustier Sainte Souphie, et quant il furent venu au moustier, si mena on l’empereur en un destour du moustier, en une cambre [...] ne si n’i avoit Francois ne Venicien qui n’eust robe ou de samit ou de drap de soie. [...] si l’en ramenerent li baron en sen palais de Bouke de Lion, se le fist on seïr en le caïere Coustentin. Adont, quant il eut sis en le caïere Coustentin, se le tinrent tout pour empereur. [E]t tout li Griu qui illuec estoient l’aouroient tout comme saint empereur. (XCVI.4–XCVII.7)

⁴⁸ ‘We have raised you from shit [...] and we will put you back in the shit.’

⁴⁹ For attempts to identify this icon with that of the Virgin Hodegetria, see Clari, trans. McNeal, p. 90; Colliot, ‘Fascination de l’or’, pp. 99–101.

⁵⁰ This marks one of the first usages of the word *ansconne* in Old French. See Chapter 1, p. 11.

And when that day arrived, the bishops and the abbots and all the leaders and the Venetians and the Franks mounted and went to the Palace of Boucoleon. Then they led the emperor to the Church of Saint Sofia and when they had come to the church, they took the emperor to a room adjoining the church [...] and there was no Frank or Venetian who did not have a satin or silk garment. [...] the barons led him to his Palace of Boucoleon, so they sat him on the throne of Constantine. Then when he sat on the throne of Constantine, they all accepted him as emperor. And all the Greeks who were there adored him as the holy emperor.

This highly abridged extract from the coronation scene shares several points in common with the coronation of Isaac in the Isaac digression, culminating in the people's adoration of the emperor on the throne of Constantine (cf. XXII.13–XXIV.4); these parallels indicate a continuity that helps us to forget that it is a Latin emperor who is being crowned. Moreover, a globe, similar to the one placed in the hand of the equestrian statue of Heraclius, is held by Baldwin (XCVII.2). This retrospectively elevates the statue into a model for Western renewal and turns Baldwin's coronation into an enactment of that same renewal.⁵¹ However, the role played by the Byzantine people in the Isaac digression is here replaced by the high men of the host, to whom, we assume, the statement that everyone wore rich clothes exclusively applies. Moreover, in the Isaac digression the coronation scene is followed by the emperor's generous gift of the treasure of the Bucoleon and Blachernae palaces, which the people divide up among themselves (XXIV.7–11). Here the motif of a reward for the people is absent.

The episode of the punishment of Murzuphlus also suggests that renewal through conquest benefits only the richer members of the crusading army. When Murzuphlus is captured, a council of the most important men is held to decide how to punish him. Finally, they make him climb to the top of one of the city's columns and push him off (CIX.4–14). Clari makes an explicit link with the mention of the same column in the city description (10–12). Yet although the motif of the traitor receiving his just deserts recalls the killing of Andronicus in the Isaac digression, the role of the Byzantine people in the digression is replaced by the material city, its riches exploited solely by the crusading leaders. Indeed, the election of a Western emperor can be

⁵¹ Nada Patrone suggests that Clari's identification of the rider with Heraclius may have been influenced by Gautier d'Arras's *Eracle*. I would argue that the frequent identification of the statue with Heraclius by Latins and Greeks alike would tend to make a direct influence unlikely, but the parallel that Nada Patrone draws does underline the role the statue plays as a model for Western renewal in both texts. See Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 26–27; Chapter 1, p. 12; Chapter 2, pp. 44–45. On the coronation of Baldwin, see also Colliot, 'Fascination de l'or', pp. 101–3. On the relationship between this description and the Latin emperors as imitators of and heirs to Byzantine concepts of imperial renewal, see Lock, pp. 300–3.

compared to the Western acquisition of Byzantine material wealth. When the next emperor, Baldwin's brother Henry, is elected, the Venetians accept the French choice provided that they are allowed to take the famous icon-portrait of the Virgin Hodegetria (CXIV).⁵² The coronation of Baldwin and the punishment of Murzuphlus may be viewed as the consequences of a history of contacts between Byzantium and the French nobility that were charted in the digressions, and which culminated in Alexius's flight to his relatives in Germany. But the renewal these events embody does not represent the transformation into reality of the utopian vision of Constantinople glimpsed in the city description.

Indeed, the conquest leaves no room for the hopes of the lesser members of the host whose cause Clari espouses. In the division of spoils the poor of the host are victims rather than victors. The crusading leaders assemble and arrange the division of the palaces without the poor knights, such as Clari himself, knowing (LXXX.5–19). Those who are set to guard the spoils steal the richer jewels and cloths of silk and gold (LXXXI.11–19). Earlier passages, such as Clari's remark that the common people of the host were told nothing of the decision to help the Venetians win back the city of Zara, reveal the same concern (XIII.7–9). This impression of betrayal is heightened by the fact that, in the early part of the text, Clari takes pains to underscore the unity of the army.⁵³ He also stresses the involvement of the poor members of the host in the conquest, as when the horse-boys and cooks frighten the Greeks with weapons made of domestic implements (XLV.10–14).

However, instead of emphasizing unity, the end of the text focuses on the dissent prevailing among the leaders of the crusade. When the land is divided up, the richest men benefit the most (CV.6–8; CVII.6–8). When the emperor Baldwin and others are killed in battle, Clari glosses the incident as follows:

Ensi faitement se venja Damedieus d'aus pour leur orguel et pour le male foi qu'il avoient portée a le povre gent de l'ost, et les oribles pekiés qu'il avoient fais en le chité, après chou qu'i l'eurent prise. (CXII.17–19)

In this way God took vengeance on them for their pride and for the bad faith which they had shown to the lower ranks of the army and the horrible sins which they had committed in the city after they had captured it.

Clari puts the crusaders' mistreatment of the lesser members of the army on a par with their sack of the city.⁵⁴ The chronicle ends with the death of the

⁵² The interpretation is Clari's, since the icon quarrel and the election were in reality two separate events. See Clari, ed. Noble, p. 141; Clari, trans. McNeal, pp. 126–27.

⁵³ See XI.16–18; XII.1–7, 17–21; XV.1–4.

⁵⁴ For Clari's sympathy with the lower members of the army, see Dufournet, II, 384–89; Bagley, pp. 111, 113–14; Clari, trans. Nada Patrone, pp. 63, 99; Clari, ed. Noble, p. xxvii; Clari, ed. Lauer, p. ix. For Villehardouin's interpretation of the Fourth Crusade,

new emperor, undermining any sense of closure we might have gained from the earlier election of two Latin emperors (CXIX). This ending hints that, if parallels remain between the digressions and the conquest itself, it is the tyrannical Greeks that the crusaders are most successfully imitating.

In both texts it is the Western nobility's acknowledgement of its dependence on its social inferiors that is to transform the utopia of Constantinople into a means for renewal. In *Macario*, Ogier's collusion in the fictional victory of the utopia renews France by reconciling rich and poor. Thus Charlemagne recognizes the authority of the Byzantine emperor and Varocher is integrated into the Frankish court. Ultimately, the West is renewed by its recognition of its dependence on alliance and on its own poor. In Clari's chronicle, the rift between rich and poor within the crusading army undermines the potential for the utopian vision of Constantinople embodied in the city description to be transformed into a viable means of Western renewal. Renewal is confined to the Western nobility, and is achieved through the legitimization of conquest rather than through the West's imitation of Byzantium as social model. The inverse relationship that exists between these two texts is illuminated by an analysis of their common concern with the transformation of potential renewal into reality, a transformation that is dependent on the feasibility of resolving social divisions endemic in the Western community.

In *Macario* the move from utopia to renewal embodies the aspiration, realized at the level of the fictional genre of the epic, to find a solution to internal social tension, while in Clari the presentation of the utopia as inaccessible marks the historical frustration of that aspiration. The presentation of Constantinople as utopia in the Franco-Italian *Macario* but not in the French versions of the same story suggests that we could look to the historical context of the Trevisan March for an explanation of the Byzantine capital's utopian power in this text, and to explain too the text's message that the nobility are dependent on their social inferiors and on their allies for their own security. Cremonesi notes that the whole manuscript in which *Macario* is included is concerned with family struggles rather than with larger collectivities.⁵⁵ It is true that Constantinople in the text represents the side of truth in a personal quarrel, not a political or sacred imperial value. Behind the discomfiture of Charlemagne we may detect the ridiculing of the contemporary Venice, while the peasant hero Varocher could represent the bourgeois power of the Veneto, which allies itself on the side of truth and deceives France/Venice. But such an investigation can only be tentative as not enough is known of the context in which the manuscript arose. Clari manipulates historical events and tells

see Chapter 6, pp. 166–68. For an interpretation of Clari's chronicle that, like my own, emphasizes the chaos endemic to Frankish feudal society, chaos which the text reveals and for which it fails to compensate, see Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, pp. 139–75 (pp. 139–40, 168–69, 174–75).

⁵⁵ Cremonesi, p. 751.

the story of the conquest of Constantinople in a far more colourful way than does Villehardouin, to whom we will turn later, and his purpose in doing so is to emphasize his view of the potential availability of the utopia for the lower members of the host, and the ultimate failure of this potential to become reality.

The two texts discussed in this chapter explore the possibility of resolving Western social conflicts and divisions through the transformation of Constantinople as utopia into a means of renewal. The existence of social rifts within the West exacerbates the difficulty of achieving renewal. In *Macario*, Varocher's incorporation into the utopia signals his personal transformation, a prerequisite for the West's social transformation. Conversely, Clari's city description identifies the failure of Western incorporation into the utopia. Clari's political Constantinople provides a compensatory model for the Western nobility, to be realized not only through East–West alliance but also through conquest. Yet for the poorer crusaders, the city is a source of frustrated and disabused renewal which serves to call attention to, rather than resolve, the problem of internal social tension within the West. *Macario* goes further than Clari in suggesting possibilities for renewal other than those based on an alliance of nobility. In *Macario*, the identification with Byzantium of the rightful cause of a Western exile and non-noble allows the model of social mobility and harmony glimpsed in Constantinople to be realized, paving the way for the transformation of the utopia into a means of renewal. In the epic renewal through the utopia is possible; in the historical chronicle any such renewal is ultimately frustrated.

This part of the book has been concerned with the relationship between *aemulatio* and *admiratio*. Tension exists between the two concepts (Chapter 3), but also *aemulatio* can develop out of *admiratio* (Chapter 4). In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the themes of chivalry, marriage alliance, *translatio* and the Fourth Crusade, which we have encountered already, were adapted and exploited in order to shift the emphasis from dealings with the Byzantine capital to Western *renovatio*. These themes not only came to question the relevance of Constantinople as a model but also accentuated the difficulty of locating renewal in the West.

PART III

The *Renovatio* of the West

Translatio Embodied? Renewal, Truth and the Status of Constantinople in Thirteenth-Century Didactic Texts

We have just been looking at twelfth- and early thirteenth-century texts that, by exploiting the themes of chivalry, crusade and East–West alliance, recount the potential or actual achievement of renewal through *admiratio*. Thirteenth-century didactic texts treat the same themes, but subordinate them to the poetic device of a debate between slander and sincerity. This debate raises questions about the reality and significance of a *translatio* from East to West. The extent to which the texts propose a solution to the ensuing dilemma of locating and embodying renewal, and the nature of that solution, depends upon their representation of the journey to Constantinople. The didactic prose romance *Marques de Rome*, with which we begin, dates from the second third of the thirteenth century, while two poems of political satire by Rutebeuf, the ‘Bataille des vices contre les vertus’ and the ‘Complainte de Constantinople’, date from the 1260s. In *Marques* the device of embedded narratives is employed in order to question the possibility of ascertaining truth through bodily exposure, and this poses problems for the location and embodiment of Western renewal in the figure of the text’s eponymous hero. In Rutebeuf hypocrisy is a key theme, and the poems exploit the device of allegorical personifications to show how the difficulty of locating truth leads to degeneration. Conflicting values are attributed to the journey to Constantinople and its role in renewing the West. What is more, in the miniatures of an illuminated manuscript of *Marques*, the motif of the journey to Constantinople, and its re-elaboration in the storytelling scene, are used to provide a solution to the problem of embodying renewal. This and the following chapter together analyse texts that locate renewal in the West, examining the implications of this for the texts’ presentation of East–West relations.

Fictions of truth: circumscribing the body in *Marques de Rome*

Marques de Rome is the first continuation of an early thirteenth-century prose redaction of the *Roman des Sept Sages*; this redaction, normally designated as A, is also the ancestor of two further Old French prose versions, an Italian

version and the Latin prose *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*. The *Sept Sages* version A narrates an episode from the childhood of the prince who in *Marques* is to reign as emperor. Falsely accused of rape by his stepmother, he is saved by the wisdom of the Seven Sages. Each side, empress and Sages, compete with stories for the favour of the prince's father, the emperor Diocletian. In the end the Sages win and the empress is put to death. *Marques* inherits from the *Sept Sages* the device of the sequence of stories told in defence and linked by a frame-tale, but also develops a quest-narrative and marriage motif in the form of the journey to Constantinople. These motifs are further elaborated in the five later continuations of the cycle. Most versions of the *Roman des Sept Sages* are set wholly in Rome. Yet all of the subsequent continuations, after *Marques*, are *romans d'aventures* concerned primarily with the biography of the hero and his quest for a wife. Since the coherence of the cycle depends on genealogy, this quest ensures the story's continuation.¹

The text of *Marques* exists in twenty manuscripts, and is nearly always found in company with at least one other text in the cycle.² The earliest indication of date that we possess, in the explicit of Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657, proves that the text was completed by 1268. It was probably composed in the second third of the thirteenth century, and perhaps as early as 1230. This hypothesis is corroborated by affinities between its ethical background and the sermons of the Dominican Humbert of Romans and the Franciscan Gilbert of Tournai, who were active during this period.³ The text's language suggests that it was produced in Flanders. We know that the parent text, the *Sept Sages*, was popular at this court in the time of Jeanne and Marguerite of Flanders (1212–44, 1244–80). Other stories about Rome, reworkings of ancient history, were also popular in this milieu.⁴

The relationship between truth, innocence and bodily exposure is crucial to the storytelling scene, especially the status of the eponymous hero Marques, the emperor's seneschal and son of one of the Seven Sages. For convenience I divide the text into four parts. The first part relates the events leading up to Marques's departure on his journey to Lombardy (I–XXVIII). The second part traces his journey to Lombardy and Constantinople, where he meets the emperor's sister Laurine (XXIX–LVI). The third part follows his

¹ The other texts in the cycle are as follows: *Le Roman des Sept Sages*, ed. Paris (this is not an edition of A, but of a 'sibling' of A and of a Middle French translation of the Latin *Historia*); *Le Roman de Laurin*; *Le Roman de Cassidorus*; *Le Roman de Helcanus*; '*Le Roman de Pelyarmenus*'; '*Le Roman de Kanor*'. See Foehr-Janssens, pp. 375–78, 425–48; Niedzielski, 'La Formation d'un cycle littéraire', pp. 120–22; Kelly, pp. 142–43; Speer, p. 305; *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. v–vii; Thorpe, *A First Contribution*, pp. 89–100; *Le Roman des Sept Sages*, ed. Speer, pp. 18–19, 89; *Li Ystoire de la male marastre*, p. xviii.

² Details of manuscripts containing *Marques* are listed in the appendix to this chapter.

³ *Marques*, ed. Panvini, p. 21; *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. vi–vii.

⁴ Stanger, pp. 218–21; Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 112–21.

return to Rome, his second visit to Constantinople to help the emperor defeat the Saracens, his marriage to Laurine and his final return to Rome (LVII–LXXXII). The fourth part recounts how the hero is falsely accused of getting the emperor of Rome's daughter pregnant, and narrates the series of stories, told by the empress and the Sages, to accuse and defend him respectively (LXXXIII–CXII).⁵

The first part of the text, set in Rome, operates a gradual shift from the Sages to Marques. In this way it identifies the hero as the object of the empress's hatred and thereby prepares for the role that he is to play in the storytelling scene. The emperor's marriage to the daughter of the duke of Lombardy sparks off a conflict between the empress and the Sages for the emperor's attention. On three occasions – on her wedding night, when she becomes pregnant, and when her daughter is born – the empress is successful in persuading the emperor to abolish customs which had favoured the Sages (III.17–25, V.10–24, VII.2, VIII.11–19). However, two episodes prefigure Marques's later replacement of the Sages as the object of the empress's hatred. In the first episode, Marques comforts the Sages by assuring them that he will remain on their side since “‘ja est li uns de vous mes peres’” (IV.15).⁶ His genealogical tie to the Sages makes him an embodiment of wisdom. In the second episode, the barons react to Marques's successful interpretation of a dream by giving away half their possessions in order to rebuild churches and establish abbeys (XIII). The empress gets the barons' wives to foil the plan by having the wealth taken to her treasury, whereupon Marques has the chests intercepted (XV.2–XVI.6). His role is further defined when he institutes almsgiving to lepers, prostitutes and the unemployed (XVII.10–22), and sets up a money-lending project (XVIII.2–8). The empress's complaint that her husband prefers Marques's words to her body is indicative of this emphasis on the hero's role at court (XX.21).

Later I will return to the Constantinople episode and to the vital role that it plays in revealing the truth about Marques. For the moment I will merely note that the full significance of Marques's role in renewing the West emerges when he is away from Rome and in Constantinople. The text's implicit use of a *translatio* motif shows Marques to be the embodiment of the Roman *civitas*. While he is staying in Constantinople incognito, one of the Seven Sages arrives there on a mission to look for him, lamenting that in Marques Rome has lost all its good qualities:

⁵ For a plot summary, see *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. xlvi–liii.

⁶ ‘[...] one of you is my father’. All references to the text are to *Marques*, ed. Panvini. Passages are cited according to the chapter and section numbers provided by Panvini. These are based on divisions in BNF, fr. 1421, the base manuscript used by Panvini. See *Marques*, ed. Panvini, pp. 37–38.

‘Il n’a gaires que Rome portoit la seignorie sor tout le monde en beaute, en sens et en proesce et en valor, et toutes ces choses estoient en .I. seul home; et tout ausi comme li cierges pert luor si tost come il est estainz, tout autresi fu Rome morte si tost comme ele perdi cel home.’ (LI.10)

‘Only recently Rome reigned supreme over the whole world in beauty, in wisdom and in prowess and valour, and all these things were in a single man; and just as the candle loses light as soon as it is extinguished, so was Rome dead as soon as she lost this man.’

In this passage Marques embodies not merely prowess, proven both in Rome and in the course of his journey, but wisdom and beauty as well, which in Rome are most fully represented in the Sages and the empress respectively. This suggests that the hero is capable of renewing Rome. On the hero’s return to Rome, the man with whom he lodges proclaims “‘Rome, voiz ci ta joie et ton confort!’” (LVII.6).⁷ Yet the renewal of Rome in the final part of the narrative is jeopardized by the empress’s efforts to condemn Marques to death, enacted in the storytelling episode. However, the storytellers are unable – whether empress or Sages – accurately to circumscribe the hero’s status.

Marques’s ability to interpret dreams helps to strengthen our impression of his role at the court of Rome as an embodiment of, and means of attaining, knowledge of the truth. The Sages have a vision that the emperor’s daughter will get pregnant before her marriage and that the empress will be burned (VIII.49). As ensuing events demonstrate, this vision does not alter, but merely foretells, the unavoidable. The emperor has a dream which the hero interprets as an allegory of the dangers which beset the emperor and the need to rely on himself, Marques, for guidance (X.7–16, XII.3–16). On the hero’s return to Rome in disguise in the third part of the text, he becomes famous for interpreting dreams, and is soon called to the court (LVIII.1). The empress has a dream, and Marques says it means she will always give back evil in return for good (LVIII.7–11, 21–23). His interpretation of the dreams has a revelatory function that helps to locate truth in Rome and thereby effects renewal.

This location of truth at the Roman court is, however, compromised by the storytelling episode. The emperor’s daughter gets pregnant by a valet, and the empress persuades her to say that it was Marques (LXXXIV.5). The empress goes to the emperor and proposes to tell an *eseuple* or *exemplum*. After the first story, she shows the emperor his pregnant daughter. The Sages’ stories then begin in Marques’s defence, and after hearing the second story the emperor relents and has Marques put into jail instead of condemned to death (LXXXIV.9–LXXXVIII.5). Twelve stories are told in pairs according

⁷ “‘Rome, behold here your joy and your comfort!’”

to this pattern, the first of each pair by the empress.⁸ After the storytelling is over, the Sages have a vision that reveals to them who the culprit is (CX.2–3), but the empress gets the valet to disguise himself as a woman.⁹

Exposure of guilt in the form of bodily unveiling is not only the purpose of the stories narrated by both sides, but also the subject matter of the stories told by the empress to order to accuse Marques. These stories question Marques's position at court by using the motif of bodily exposure to equate the revelation of male sexuality with that of the crime of seduction. Many of the six stories that the empress narrates concern a knight/servant who seduces a king's wife/daughter. Two reflect more or less her misreading of the situation in Rome. The third story is about an emperor deceived by a hypocritical seneschal, who tells the emperor not to sleep with his future wife, and then does so himself. The trick is discovered and the seneschal is put to death (LXXXIX). The empress interprets this with regard to the situation between the emperor and Marques (XC.1–3). The seventh story is about an illicit relationship between the daughter of the king of Persia and the seneschal's son Zoroas. The princess glimpses her future lover at the foot of her tower, and they meet in secret. The king's men catch the criminal, but the seneschal tricks the king into letting his son go unpunished when the girl becomes pregnant (XCVII).¹⁰ The empress affirms that the *paroles* of the Sages deceive the emperor in the same way (XCVIII.1–4). However, when the storytelling is over, the valet is discovered by an examination of his genitals (CXII.5). Here the tables are turned on the empress, since it is the valet, and not Marques, who is exposed as a criminal by means of the motif of bodily exposure. As in the empress's stories, exposure – or the uncovering of disguise, in the form of assumed feminine innocence, to reveal the truth – shows male sexuality to be a proof of sexual possession and hence of crime. The unveiling of masculinity ultimately condemns the empress instead of Marques, and she is burned (CXII.23–24).

⁸ The stories are for the most part variations on well-known legends and plot motifs. The first is found in John Gower's *Confessio amantis*. The second is a variation on the many stories about monks, priests and hermits seducing young women. The third has analogues in the *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*, and the fourth is the life of St Marina or St Margaret of Antioch (*Vita Sanctae Marinae Virginis*). Some are variants of stories found in the *Sept Sages*: the fifth may be a reworking of the *Medicus* story; the seventh is a variant of the *Inclusa* story; the ninth is also similar to one of the *Sept Sages* stories. The eighth and tenth recall the plot of the *Sept Sages*; the tenth is also a reworking of the Biblical story of Joseph's worldly service in Egypt, a story that was often used to propagate an ideal of clerical service to the king. See *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. x–xii, 172–74; Foehr-Janssens, pp. 462–63, 466–67; Tubach, nos 2830, 3380, 4023; Jaeger, pp. 87–95; Farmer, pp. 327–28.

⁹ For this motif of the lover disguised as a woman, or *Juvenis femina* motif, see Foehr-Janssens, p. 466.

¹⁰ In the third section of this chapter I return to this story in the context of an illuminated manuscript.

The Sages' stories play a key role in unveiling the truth veiled in Marques's body. The second, eighth, tenth and twelfth stories concern men whose innocence of the crimes (in most cases seduction or rape) of which they are accused is discovered only after they have been put to death. The sixth story similarly casts the hero in the role of the morally righteous outsider, this time by comparing him to John the Baptist (XCV). One of the stories narrated by the Sages (the fourth) employs the motif of cross-dressing also found in the frame-tale outlined above. But in the Sages' story it is a woman who is disguised as a man, which makes bodily exposure the exposure of innocence. It recounts how a man becomes a monk and eventually, because he misses her, has his daughter come with him disguised as a man (XCI). The father dies, and on an expedition outside of the monastery to collect stones for a new building, the monks lodge with a man, whose daughter is thereafter found to be pregnant. The woman disguised as a monk is blamed for this, and does penance without attempting to prove her innocence. After her death the truth is discovered, whereupon the monks exclaim: "Marine, pucele vierge, molt a este vostre char de grant vertu en cest siecle, si en avroiz grant guerredon en l'autre" (XCI.21).¹¹ A precedent for this implicit comparison between Marques and the Virgin Mary is found earlier in the text, when Laurine accepts Marques as a husband and affirms that good can come of low origins: "La Vierge Marie, qui roine est es cieux, n'oissi ele des Juis? Et la rouse, qui roine est des fleurs, ne nest ele de l'espine?" (LXXI.37–38).¹² Like the Sages' stories, Laurine's statement is a comment on the hidden nature of virtue and the impossibility of exposing it. Like the empress's stories I discussed above, the story depends on the identification of the male body with crime and on the idea that bodily unveiling reveals hidden truth. Yet at the same time, by implicitly comparing Marques to a woman, the Sages' story also questions the effectiveness of sexual identity as a parameter of truth, guilt and innocence. The Sages' stories describe Marques as a woman, thus exposing the inability for innocence to be exposed. This questions the role of bodily exposure by showing bodily unveiling to be an inadequate reflection of guilt.

One of the empress's stories, the fifth, also overturns the idea of bodily exposure as revelation.¹³ It does this through the motif of the magic potion, which reveals that words have the power to make the body deceptive. The story concerns the relationship between a king's daughter and the nephew of a foreign king's doctor (XCIII). When the daughter becomes pregnant and

¹¹ "Marina, virgin maiden, your flesh has been of great virtue in this world, and you will have a great reward for it in the next."

¹² "The Virgin Mary, who is queen of heaven, did she not come from the Jews? And the rose, which is queen of flowers, is it not born of the thorn?"

¹³ This story will also be discussed at greater length in the third section of this chapter.

blames the nephew, the doctor gives him a potion which makes his genitals look female:

‘Si tost comme ses nies les ot beües, si li entrerent li membre et li genitere dedanz le cors, si qu’il sembloit qu’il n’eüst onques eü entre .II. jambes chose nule, fors .I. pertuis par ou il pissoit.’ (XCIII.11)

‘As soon as his nephew had drunk it, his members and genitals entered into his body, so that it appeared that he had never had anything between his legs except a hole through which he would piss.’

The empress’s gloss on this story sets up an equation between the potion and the *paroles* of the Seven Sages: both, she says are agents of deception (XCIV.1–3). Both are efforts to make Marques appear a woman. The Sages argue that words transform the body by revealing its inner truth. But the empress makes their insistence on the truth-value of the body a function of the Sages’ deception: words transform the body by hiding its real nature. In this story the body is deceptive, and cannot reveal the truth. Narrative shows bodily unveiling to be an inadequate reflection of inner identity, and ultimately exposes the desire to expose. This questioning of the effectiveness of exposure leads to problems in locating the truth.

The empress’s stories provide a corrective to those of the Sages by suggesting that the model the latter use to describe Marques’s actions – a model of quasi-feminine renunciation revealed definitively through bodily exposure – is incommensurable with reality. Instead, she suggests that the Sages are blinding the king, making even exposure deceptive: like vice disguised as virtue, maleness is disguised as femaleness. The Sages’ stories serve as much to conceal as to circumscribe. We are asked to be wary of narratives that purport to reveal the truth by exposing the body. Both the Sages’ and the empress’s interpretations of the body must always, and inevitably, lie. Hence the text asks us to look beyond Marques’s body for the truth conveyed by narrative, but also shows us that truth can only be fully revealed in the body without the aid of potions and disguises and narratives. To a threat from the duke of Lombardy, Marques earlier replied: “‘Li dires et li feres ne sont pas pareil, ne l’en ne feroit pas autant en .XX. anz comme l’en porroit dire en une seule eure”” (LXV.13).¹⁴ This could be read as a comment on the ineffectual nature of narrative adequately to describe Marques’s body.

I have already noted that the hero is twice implicitly compared to the Virgin Mary. But the text also draws implicit comparisons with Christ. In Lombardy Marques dreams that the empress gives him a golden crown which changes into a Crown of Thorns (XL.5–6). When the question of the

¹⁴ “‘Saying and doing are not the same thing, and one couldn’t do as much in twenty years as one could say in a single hour.””

hero's marriage to Laurine is raised, the emperor of Rome states that "se bontez coronoit l'ome, Marques seroit rois de tout le monde" (LXXI.21).¹⁵ The use of the verb *coroner* recalls the hero's dream about the Crown. Both passages suggest a parallel between Marques and Christ.¹⁶ Marques's status as a vehicle of truth, his position in Rome and the significance of his journey are enriched and illuminated by these comparisons to the Word made flesh. In the *Image du monde*, Gossouin de Metz reminds us, during a discussion of the Seven Liberal Arts, that 'par parole fist Diex le monde', thereby linking knowledge and the Word of God (p. 81). Similarly, in the concluding lines of John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*, the truth is Christ:

Meanwhile, I piously beseech my reader and audience to intercede for me, a vain and miserable wretch, with the Virgin's Son, Who is 'the way, the truth, and the life'. Let them pray that, dispelling the darkness of [my] ignorance, and uprooting [my] love of empty vanity, He [Christ] may enlighten me with His knowledge, and make me a zealous investigator, lover, and observer of the truth.^{17*}

The body is dependent on the Word – only through the words of the Sages can its truth be revealed – but that truth also goes beyond the efforts of the Word to reveal it.

The Sages' stories demonstrate that the real virtue of the eponymous hero Marques in *Marques de Rome* needs to be uncovered by the truth of the Sages' Word as an integument, yet the empress's stories show that at the same time the body escapes and goes beyond the Word. The role of the Rutebeuf narrator in ironically endorsing the hypocrisy of vice masquerading as virtue resembles the deceptiveness attributed to the Sages by the empress. At the same time the narrator also takes upon himself the role of truth-teller, thereby revealing the hypocrisy latent in the disguising of vice. In two of Rutebeuf's poems, a tension exists between renewal and degeneration, occasioned by the presence of similar contrasting narrative voices.

Embodied virtue? Renewal and degeneration in Rutebeuf's 'Complainte de Constantinople' and 'Bataille des vices contre les vertus'

As we have seen, in *Marques de Rome* there is an implicit use of the *translatio* topos in the figure of the hero and his status as an embodiment of Roman

¹⁵ "[...] if goodness crowned a man, Marques would be king of the whole world."

¹⁶ Speer, p. 329.

¹⁷ John of Salisbury, trans. McGarry, IV.42, p. 276. For the concept of *sapientia*, see *Metalogicon*, IV.19.1–26 (pp. 156–57); Foehr-Janssens, pp. 419–21.

virtue, and the storytelling motif illuminates the threat that hypocrisy poses for the location of renewal in the West. In Rutebeuf the theme of hypocrisy is presented through the device of opposing narrative voices, and the *translatio* topos is used as a means of highlighting the degeneration of which the most severe example and consequence is the neglect of the crusade effort.

Rutebeuf is the author of fifty-six satirical and didactic poems written approximately between 1248 and 1277.¹⁸ The two poems with which I will be concerned, the ‘Complainte de Constantinople’ and ‘Bataille des vices contre les vertus’, are the only two of Rutebeuf’s poems that mention Constantinople. They follow one another in the two manuscripts in which they are found, and were composed at approximately the same date.¹⁹ The ‘Bataille des vices contre les vertus’ provides an ironic criticism of the triumph of vice disguised as the virtue of Humility in the Mendicant Friars. It exploits this allegorical framework in order to criticize the rise of the Mendicants (the Dominicans and Franciscans) to success in the University of Paris. During the 1250s conflict ensued between the Friars and the secular masters, one of whom, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, wrote a treatise against the Mendicants. As a result, Pope Alexander IV took measures to condemn Guillaume and asked Louis IX to protect the Friars. Finally, the secular masters were called to Rome, and Guillaume was exiled from France.²⁰ The ‘Complainte de Constantinople’, one of Rutebeuf’s crusade poems, was written in October 1262 in response to the Greeks’ retaking of Constantinople on 25 July 1261.

¹⁸ Regalado, p. 1. Citations refer to Rutebeuf, ed. Zink. I have also made use of the extensive notes in Rutebeuf, ed. Faral and Bastin, I (referred to as FB). Translations are my own, but I have also consulted Zink’s modern French parallel translation in his edition.

¹⁹ Here I note brief details on the manuscripts: *A*: BNF, fr. 837 (formerly 7218). Dating from the thirteenth century, written in a single hand, contains 33 poems by Rutebeuf. The ‘Complainte de Constantinople’ is found on fols 325v–326v, and the ‘Bataille des vices contre les vertus’ on fols 326v–327v; *C*: BNF, fr. 1635 (formerly 7633), late thirteenth century, contains 50 poems by Rutebeuf (fols 1r–84v). The ‘Bataille’ (entitled ‘Dit de la mensonge’) is found on fol. 11v, and the ‘Complainte’ on fols 13–14. I have adopted Zink’s titles for these and other poems in all cases other than for the ‘Bataille’. Zink’s titles follow those in manuscript *C*, the base manuscript for his edition. See Taschereau, I, 94–96, 276–77; Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 37–38, 203; II, 522.

²⁰ The poem consists of 220 octosyllables, arranged aabbc. Zink dates it to 1260, while Regalado proposes a date of 1263. I have used the title ‘Bataille’ in order to emphasize the poem’s links with the *Psychomachia* tradition and thereby stress the device of opposing narrative voices. Other poems by Rutebeuf which support the secular masters and criticize the Mendicants include the following: the ‘Discorde des Jacobins et de l’Université’ (1255); ‘D’Hypocrisie’ (1257); the ‘Dit de maître Guillaume de Saint-Amour’ (1257); the ‘Complainte de maître Guillaume de Saint-Amour’ (1258); ‘Dit des règles’, ‘De sainte Église’, ‘Dit des Jacobins’, ‘Les ordres de Paris’ and ‘Dit des Béguines’ (all between 1259 and 1260); ‘Leçon d’Hypocrisie et d’Humilité’ (1261). See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 6–11, 203–16; FB, pp. 299–312; Regalado, pp. 96–103.

It treats the theme of the neglected crusade effort in aid of the Holy Land and the fallen Latin Empire of Constantinople.²¹

Rutebeuf's exploitation of the motif of the Virtues and Vices in the 'Bataille' presents the Mendicants' claim to embody virtue as hypocrisy, and thereby reveals how degeneration poses as renewal. Both poems present the crusade effort in aid of Constantinople as a possible means of renewal, but lament its neglect in favour of the Mendicants. Rutebeuf's use of the *translatio* topos in the 'Complainte' questions the idea that renewal is embodied in the West. The poems' didactic point is thus affirmed by their presentation of East–West relations, since the decline of chivalry and crusading fervour are proofs of the failure of *translatio*.

The 'Bataille des vices contre les vertus' charts the breakdown in the relationship between the Seven Virtues (the semblance of *veriteiz*), and truth or renewal. Rutebeuf uses the rhetorical device of antiphrasis in order to condemn what he pretends to support: namely, the apparent virtue of Humility, embodied (according to general opinion) in the Mendicant Friars. He does this by contrasting two narrative voices – the 'je' narrator who apes the hypocrites, and the third-person narrator who represents the voice of truth, the resurfacing of which serves to denounce the hypocritical poetic enterprise proclaimed by the 'je' narrator.²² The motif of the battle between the Virtues and Vices is used to dramatize these opposing narrative voices. The *Psychomachia* tradition – depicting the antithetical personifications of the Virtues and Vices in combat, ending with the defeat of the vices – was extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages. In schemes of the Virtues and Vices, Humility was seen as the root of all virtue, while Pride was the root of all vice.²³ The prologue of the 'Bataille' announces the defeat of the vices (vv. 12–36). The first three pairs of Virtues and Vices mentioned – *Humiliteiz* and *Orgueil*, *Largesce* and *Avarice*, *Debonaireté* and *Ire* (vv. 20–25) – are developed further in the course of the poem.²⁴

Rutebeuf uses this motif in order to chart the ironic victory of the virtue

²¹ The poem consists of 180 octosyllables, divided into 15 stanzas of 12 lines each, each arranged aabaabbbabba. Rutebeuf's crusade poems eulogize men who have recently taken the cross or dead heroes, or else ask people to support crusading leaders. They include the following: the 'Complainte de Monseigneur Geoffroy de Sergines', 'Chanson de Pouille', 'Dit de Pouille', 'Complainte d'outremer', 'Complainte du comte Eudes de Nevers', 'La Voie de Tunis', 'Disputaison du Croisé et du Décroisé', 'Complainte du roi de Navarre', 'Complainte du comte de Poitiers', 'Nouvelle complainte d'outremer', 'De Monseigneur Ancel de l'Isle'. See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 11–13, 355–68; FB, pp. 419–24; Rutebeuf, *Onze poèmes*, pp. 28–31; Regalado, pp. 39–54; Throop, pp. 184–213.

²² Bordier, p. 83; Regalado, pp. 152–55.

²³ Tuve, pp. 44–46, 59; Wathelet-Willem, pp. 490–94.

²⁴ The last four pairs – *Charitei* and *Envie*, *Proesce* and *Accide*, *Abstinence* and *Gloutenie*, *Chasteiz* and *Luxure* (vv. 26–36) – are not mentioned again. For the vice of *Accidia*, see Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 491–92.

of Humility. The virtue appears to be intact when we are told that it was the task of the Friars to ‘preeschier Humilitei | Qui est voie de veritei’ (vv. 51–52).²⁵ But now that Humility is rich, it demands more than it did before (vv. 57–74). Rutebeuf expresses this ironic victory through the use of military metaphors. Hence *Orgueulz* ‘corne la recreüe’ (v. 76), while *Humiliteiz* ‘vient avant’ (v. 78). This *Psychomachia* framework serves to allegorize the power-struggle in Rome between Guillaume and the Mendicants. Thus when the narrator announces the victory of *Largesce* over *Avarice*, and tells us of the imminent combat of *Debonaireté* with *Ire* (vv. 159–77), the allegory is explicitly glossed as the Dominicans’ trial of Guillaume de Saint-Amour and Chrétien de Beauvais in Rome in October 1256: ‘Debonairetez et dame Ire [...] | Vindrent, lors gens toutes rangies, [...] | Devant l’apostoile Alixandre’ (vv. 187–91).²⁶

This initial use of the poetic voice to reiterate the lies of the hypocrites makes it difficult to accept at face value the presence in the prologue of the topos that the poet writes because he cannot do anything else:

Por ce me wel a oeuvre metre
 Si com je m’en sai entremetre,
 C’est a rimer une matire.
 En leu d’ouivre a ce m’atyre,
 Car autre ouvrage ne sai faire. (vv. 7–11)

That is why I want to get to work in the way I am able to undertake, by composing verse on a subject. Instead of working I set myself to this, for I cannot do any other work.

Ultimately, however, it is the poet’s task to proclaim the truth. Jean-Pierre Bordier has insisted on this theme of poetic endeavour as *voir dire* that subtends much of Rutebeuf’s work. The poem’s presentation of the abstract personification Theology illustrates the way in which it gradually unmasks the truth. The first mention in the poem of Theology as a personification (v. 86) associates it with the hypocritical triumph of Humility. The ‘je’ narrator purports to tell us the *veritei* but in fact only proclaims what is officially taken as true. Already in the prologue Rutebeuf hints that few suspect the real truth:

²⁵ ‘To preach Humility which is the path of truth’.

²⁶ ‘Kindness and lady Anger [...] came, their people all lined up, [...] before Pope Alexander.’ The poem draws on a tradition of anti-Roman satire found in other poems by Rutebeuf. The ‘Leçon d’Hypocrisie et d’Humilité’ (1261) also uses the allegorical battle of the Virtues and Vices as a backdrop for the portrayal of a power struggle in Rome. It takes the form of a dream-journey purporting to predict the election of the new Pope Urban IV on 29 August 1261. It uses popular proverbs to satirize the venality of Rome; it alludes to a pun common in the Middle Ages that interpreted the name *Roma* as the abbreviation of *ROdit MANus* (vv. 160–62). See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 265, 479, 482, 488; Regalado, pp. 146–50.

‘De ce dirai la veritei: | C’est or ce que pou de gent cuide’ (vv. 28–29).²⁷ Soon the narrator abandons his ironic guise and adopts his true voice, praising Chrétien de Beauvais as a ‘maistres [...] de devinetés’ (v. 185). True theology, it seems, rests with the defeated opponents of the Mendicants. Moreover, Rutebeuf sets up an implicit parallel between himself and Guillaume de Saint-Amour, since the task of both is to unmask the truth. The banishment of Guillaume is proof ‘c’om puet bien trop dire de voir’ (v. 209). Like Guillaume, the poet is exposed to persecution for his proclamation of the truth. Thus Rutebeuf concludes his criticism of the Pope’s decision to banish Guillaume with an affirmation of truth that marks the first non-ironic use of the word *veritei* in the poem: ‘Qui la veritei wet enquerre’ (v. 204).²⁸

The poet uncovers the truth that lies behind his initial presentation of the Virtues and Vices motif by ironically inserting, in the guise of an opponent, his own critique of the Mendicants. It is in this ironic mode that Rutebeuf introduces Constantinople as an alternative cause to that of the Mendicants. Thus he affirms that the king’s money is in fact better used for the Mendicant Orders than to finance military aid to the Latin Empire of Constantinople:

Et or est bien droiz et raisons
 Que si grant dame ait granz maisons [...]
 Maugrei toutes les langues males
 Et la Rutebuef douz premiers,
 Qui d’eulz blameir fu coustumiers.
 Ne vaut il mieux c’Umiliteiz
 Et la sainte Deviniteiz
 Soit levee en roial palais,
 C’om fist d’aumoennes et de lais
 Et de l’avoir au meilleur roi
 C’onques ancor haïst desroi,
 Que [ce] c’om securust la terre
 Ou li foul vont folie querre,
 Coustantinoble, Romenie? (vv. 79–93)

And now it is right and proper that such a great lady should have great houses [...] in spite of all the wagging tongues and Rutebeuf’s above all, who was used to putting the blame on them. Isn’t

²⁷ ‘I will tell the truth about this: few people believe it.’ I would agree with Zink’s suggestion that these two lines provide a hint that the apparent praise of the Friars is to be understood as antiphrasis. See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 482.

²⁸ For poetry as an alternative to other forms of work, see the ‘Mariage Rutebeuf’ (v. 98); ‘Complainte de Constantinople’ (vv. 4–6, 29–30). For truth as scarce, and poetry as a vehicle of truth, see ‘Dit des règles’ (vv. 1–3); ‘Complainte de maître Guillaume de Saint-Amour’ (vv. 157–58); ‘Dit de maître Guillaume de Saint-Amour’ (vv. 17–20); ‘Les Ordres de Paris’ (vv. 5–6); ‘Dit de sainte Église’ (vv. 52–55). For the importance of not distorting the poetic word, see ‘Dit de Pouille’ (vv. 1–4). See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 23–25, 481–82; Bordier, pp. 81–85; Regalado, pp. 88–96; Curtius, pp. 88–89.

it better that Humility and holy Theology should reign in the royal palace, built of alms and legacies and of the money of the best king who ever hated disorder, rather than that we should bring help to the land where the mad go to seek folly, Constantinople, Romania?

He ironically refers to his own critique of the Friars as a voice which does not deserve to be heard. He then returns to the voice of the 'je' narrator, contrasting the *royal palais* which is the home of the Friars and the seat of Humility, built by alms, legacies and the wealth of Louis IX, with the Latin empire (*la terre* | *Ou li foul vont folie querre*). This use of spatial metaphors, contrasting *palais* and *terre*, to evoke potential sites of renewal, is also used extensively in the 'Complainte de Constantinople' to evoke the difficulty of locating renewal. This focus on words conveying location parallels the focus on the body and its multiple meanings in the storytelling scene of *Marques de Rome*.

Rutebeuf's use of architectural metaphors in the 'Complainte' enables him to contrast the care lavished on institutions of the West with the neglect of the Holy Land. He is thereby able to distinguish between a monastic model of sanctity, and a model based on crusade and chivalry.²⁹ Here as in the 'Bataille', the chivalric model is consigned to the past, and both poems can be read as elegies on its passing. In the fourth stanza we are told that the Mendicant Friars are rewarded with new houses:

Li rois tanra desa concile [...]
 Et fera nueve remenance
 A cex qui font nueve creance,
 Novel Dieu et nueve Evangile,
 Et laira semeir par doutance
 Ypocrisie sa semance,
 Qui est dame de ceste vile. (vv. 41–48)

The king will hold a council here [...] and will make new dwellings for those who profess a new faith, a new God and a new Gospel, and out of fear will let Hypocrisy sow her seed, who reigns over this city.

Like the vices posing as virtues in the 'Bataille', here the abstract personification *Ypocrisie* rules over Paris.

The second stanza introduces the theme of Constantinople and laments its loss: 'Dont sainte Eglise est esperdue, | Qu'en cors at petit d'atendue | Quant il at la teste fendue' (vv. 18–20).³⁰ The rule of *Ypocrisie* in Paris can be

²⁹ Castellani, 'Deux modèles de sainteté', pp. 119–24.

³⁰ 'From which holy Church is distraught, for there is little to be expected for the body when its head is split open'.

contrasted with the number of words conveying physical attack and fracture in stanza 5, which uses an architectural metaphor to describe the current state of the Holy Land:

Se le denier que hon at mie
 En celx qu'a Diex ce font amis
 Fussent mis en la Terre Sainte,
 Ele en eüst mains d'anemis
 Et mains tost ce fust entremis
 Cil qui l'a ja brisié et frainte. [...]
 De legier sera mais atainte
 Quant sa lumiere est ja etainte
 Et sa cire devient remis. (vv. 49–60)

If the money that people gave to those who call themselves the friends of God had been given for the Holy Land, she would have fewer enemies because of it and he who has already broken and shattered her would have intervened less quickly. [...] She will be easily attacked from now on since her light is already out and her candle is melted.

The preponderance, at the rhyme, of words suggesting attack, builds up a picture of degeneration and dilapidation. The next three stanzas each begin with a lament that the building has been abandoned. Stanza 6 describes the Holy Land as follows: 'Touz est plains d'erbe li santiers | C'om suet batre si volentiers | Por offrir s'arme en leu de cyre' (vv. 67–69).³¹ The building has now fallen into disrepair, without those who offered themselves as one offers a candle. This sheds light on the presence of the candle metaphor in stanza 5, encouraging us to view it as representing those who have abandoned the building.³² As I noted briefly in the previous section, a similar metaphor is used in *Marques* to lament the hero's absence from Rome. In both texts the metaphor of the candle is used to give expression to unexploited potential for renewal. But whereas in *Marques* renewal is achieved through service to the emperor of Rome, here it would be realized through chivalry and crusade, but this is now impossible.

In accordance with this emphasis on crusade, the abandonment of the Holy Land – the 'Terre de Promission' (v. 86) as well as the locus of Christ's redemption – is interpreted as a crisis of faith. Thus in the seventh stanza, Rutebeuf asks: 'Sire Diex, pourquoi l'oblion, | Quant por notre redemp-

³¹ 'The pathway that people used to tread so willingly, to offer their souls in place of a candle, is full of grass.'

³² The motif of the path that is now less well trodden than it once was is also found in the 'Voie d'Humilité' (also known as the 'Voie de Paradis') to represent the road to the virtue of *Chariteiz* (vv. 756–58). See Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 494.

tion | I fu la chars de Dieu trahie?’ (vv. 88–90).³³ Earlier in the poem, he remarked that ‘se Jhesucriz n’i fait aïue | A la Sainte Terre absolue, | Bien li est esloignee joie’ (vv. 22–24).³⁴ Similarly, the first stanza laments the weakening of faith that threatens to transform language into a means of degeneration: ‘Or porroit estre, se devient, | Que la foi qui feble devient | Porroit changier nostre langage’ (vv. 10–12).³⁵ While in *Marques*, renewal is both jeopardized and realized through the vulnerability of the hero’s embodied state, in the ‘Complainte de Constantinople’ it is lack of faith in the body of the Word made flesh that has led to degeneration.

The demise of chivalric and crusading zeal results in a pragmatic acknowledgement of the failure of the journey east to become a means for renewal. Hence in the last two stanzas, the narrator strikes a note of resignation by supporting royal policy. This prevalence of doubt and stagnation seems to be inspired by the recognition that given the dominance of the Mendicant Orders the king is not free to spend extra money on the crusade effort.³⁶ Earlier in the poem the narrator affirms that since he is not a soldier he cannot help regain the Byzantine capital: ‘Autre secors ne lor puis feire, | Car je ne suis mais hom de guerre’ (vv. 29–30).³⁷ The poem is in a sense to be seen as a replacement for going on crusade. Yet ultimately it proves itself to be pessimistic about what poetry can achieve without active chivalry. It is not an exhortation to depart but rather a lament at, and an explanation of, failure.

The use of the *translatio* topos in stanza 11 expresses this conviction that the journey east is not possible because *loyauteiz*, the vehicle for renewal, has disappeared, and renewal has given way to degeneration:

De Grece vint chevalerie
 Premierement d’anceserie,
 Si vint en France et en Bretaingne.
 Grant piece i at estei chierie.
 Or est a mesnie escherie,
 Que nuns n’est teiz qu’il la retaingne.
 Mort sunt Ogiers et Charlemainne.
 Or s’en vont, que plus n’i remaingne.
 Loyauteiz est morte et perie:
 C’estoist sa monjoie et s’ensaingne,

³³ ‘Lord God, why do we forget it, when for our redemption the flesh of God was betrayed there?’

³⁴ ‘If Jesus Christ does not come to help the Holy Land most holy, joy has certainly left it.’ Rutebeuf, trans. Dufournet, pp. 93–94.

³⁵ ‘Now it could happen that faith, becoming weaker, might change our language.’

³⁶ This exemplifies Rutebeuf’s tendency to cite conflicting points of view. See FB, pp. 421–22; Rutebeuf, *Onze poèmes*, pp. 31–32; Rutebeuf, ed. Zink, I, 355.

³⁷ ‘I cannot be of other help to them, for I am not a man of war.’

C'estoit sa dame et sa compaigne,
Et sa maistre habergerie. (vv. 121–32)

From Greece first of all in ancient times came chivalry, and then it came to France and Brittany. For a long time it was held dear there. Now its followers are few in number, and no one can keep it going. Ogier and Charlemagne are dead. Now they go away, nothing is left of them. Loyalty is dead and perished: she was chivalry's war-cry and standard, she was its lady and companion, and its chief dwelling-place.

The value of *chevalerie* was upheld by the heroes of the *chansons de geste*. But in stanza 12 the wise counsellor-figure of duke Naimes is replaced, in the favour of Louis IX, by the Mendicant Orders (vv. 136–44).³⁸ The use of the *translatio* topos in the 'Complainte de Constantinople' indicates that renewal is dependent on the journey east for its realization. In the 'Disputaison du Croisé et du Décroisé', the view of the *Décroisé*, whose role is to criticize the crusade, affirms a belief in Western renewal that does not depend on Constantinople: "Se Diex est nule part el monde, | Il est en France, c'e[s]t sens doute" (vv. 193–94).³⁹ But in both of the poems we have been examining, there is much less certainty about the location of renewal in the West, and this doubt is a consequence of the demise of chivalry.

In the two poems we have looked at in this section, Rutebeuf uses allegorical personifications as embodiments of renewal whose enactment is fraught with complexity. Like the stories in *Marques*, the virtues are disguises used to conceal the truth vested in the body. The consequent omnipresence of hypocrisy in the West is matched by the demise of chivalry which compromises the journey to Constantinople, and both lead to the impossibility of locating renewal. *Marques* is more optimistic than Rutebeuf about the existence of a solution to the problem of locating renewal. It is the journey to Constantinople which proves the reality of *translatio* and of Western *renovatio*. The next section will introduce the significance of the motif of the journey in *Marques* in this context.

Renewal through renunciation: the journey to Constantinople as ethical model

As in Rutebeuf, in *Marques* the journey east is attributed a role in renewing the West, but in order for truth to be located, it is essential to distinguish

³⁸ Ciggaar mentions this poem in connection with the topos of *translatio militiae* (*Western Travellers*, p. 96).

³⁹ 'If God is anywhere in the world, he is in France, without a doubt.' Rutebeuf, trans. Dufournet, p. 107.

between the conflicting values attributed to that journey. The representation of the journey is thus linked to the theme of truth and its expression in Marques's body, which we looked at in the first section. The motif of the journey is re-elaborated in the storytelling scene. Three of the empress's stories reveal her misreading of the journey as a quest for power. The journey emerges as an ethical model, in order to make Western renewal depend upon renunciation.

The naked body in the storytelling scene is a focus for two different interpretations of the relationship between truth and bodily exposure. Its status can be summarized through an analysis of the miniatures of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 93. This is a large folio volume on parchment, containing the whole *Sept Sages* cycle over 603 folios, written in two columns of 42 and sometimes 43 lines. It was produced in Paris in 1466, the date being indicated by the scribal signature found on fol. 602v: 'L'an mil cccclxvi fut escript cest rommant par Micheau Gonneau, prebtre demourant a Crosant.' The scribe, Michel Gonnot, worked for Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours and a well-known bibliophile, and it is highly likely that it was Jacques who commissioned the manuscript. It is an accurate copy of BNF, fr. 22548, but we do not know if this was the manuscript that Gonnot was working from. The identity of the illuminator is not certain, but it may have been either Evrard d'Espinques or Guillaume Oléry.⁴⁰ The text of *Marques* extends from fols 17r–60r and contains twenty-six miniatures. Four of these miniatures illustrate the subject matter of four of the stories recounted in the final part of the text.⁴¹ The miniatures portray a split scene, divided into an interior court scene on the left and an exterior scene on the right where the content of the stories is depicted, the gap being breached by an open door-window.

Two of these images not only highlight how the storytellers use the naked body as a vehicle for truth, revealed through the disclosure of innocence/crime, but also reiterate the power of stories, since the empress and Sages attribute different meanings to the naked body. The image illustrating the third story (fol. 50v) depicts the emperor and empress on the left, since it is the latter who tells the story. The scene on the right shows two servants kneeling and beating a naked man lying down, while an emperor looks on. The miniature illustrating the sixth story (fol. 53r) portrays the emperor and one of the Sages on the left, while on the right a man (this time innocent)

⁴⁰ Thorpe, *A First Contribution*, pp. 33–36; *Le Roman de Cassidorus*, I, pp. xxxv–vi; *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. xiii, xix–xx; Taschereau, I, 6; Foehr-Janssens, pp. 486–87; Runte, pp. 58, 63–64; Pickford, pp. 245–62; Avril and Reynaud, pp. 164–66; Thorpe, 'Paulin Paris', pp. 67–68.

⁴¹ These are: fol. 50v (third story), fol. 52r (fifth story), fol. 53r (sixth story) and fol. 53v (seventh story). For fols 52r and 53v, illustrating the fifth and seventh stories respectively, see Plate 4, p. 151.

in rags kneels down, another man holds a sword over him, and an emperor stands behind. Male nudity in medieval texts may signify exile, crime, rejection from society or anarchic opposition to order.⁴² In the story told by the empress, the naked body is a figure for Marques's supposed sexual crime, while in the story told by the Sages, it represents his status as an innocent victim. If we did not know the context of these images, it would appear that both of them portrayed the same situation; but the storytellers use that situation to make opposite points about the nature of the truth conveyed in the body. Similarly, Marques's journey, both as he undertakes it and as it is re-elaborated in the stories, is also the focus for conflicting interpretations.

Another of the images illustrates the fifth story, told by the empress (fol. 52r; Plate 4(a), overleaf). The rubric stresses the empress's interpretation of the story as a metaphor for the rehabilitation of the criminal Marques through the words of the Sages: 'Comment l'empereris compte a l'empereur de Ypocras, qui avoit garandi son nepveu de mort par herbes, et que ausi les .VII. sages garandisoient Marques de mort par leurs paroles.'⁴³ The miniature represents the emperor and an advisor holding a naked man (whose genitals appear female) captive. As we saw in the first section, the story conveys the empress's critique of the Sages' questioning of the equation of the male body with criminal sexuality. As I suggested, this reading of the Sages' story shifts the emphasis to Marques's body, and its role in the journey, as the sole determinant of truth and vehicle for renewal. But the journey to Constantinople is, as we will see, a focus for conflicting readings in the same way as the hero's body in Rome. The narrative of the journey itself supports and explicates the Sages' view of Marques's body as an ambivalent space which can figure renunciation as well as chivalric prowess. Yet the empress sees this reading of the journey as deceptive, and rereads it in her own way as an unambiguous display of chivalry, aimed at gaining power. Her critique of the Sages' stories is replaced by that of Marques's chivalric and amorous exploits.

The empress's misreading of the journey highlights the ambivalence of the figure of Marques. Critics have noted that, on the one hand, he provides a model of lay learning and Christian morality, but on the other hand incarnates an ideal of knightly chivalry. This gives rise to a tension between the hero's bourgeois social class and function in Rome and his chivalric and romantic exploits in Constantinople. A distinction between these two parts of the text can be noted on the level of temporal indications, since while the Rome episodes are clearly demarcated according to liturgical and biological

⁴² Régnier-Bohler, pp. 366–73.

⁴³ 'How the empress tells the emperor the story of Ypocras, who had protected his nephew from death with herbs, and how too the Seven Sages protected Marques from death with their words.'

time, the Lombardy and Constantinople episodes are chronologically much more vague.⁴⁴

Many elements of the episode of Marques's journey reflect an emphasis on chivalry, suggesting that the roles of Marques in the two episodes are indeed radically demarcated. The journey is introduced as the result of the empress's vendetta, which aims to compromise Marques's position at court. The empress asks the emperor to make the hero a knight, and then arranges a tournament (XXIV–XXV). She tricks him into carrying a message to Lombardy that denounces its bearer as a traitor (XXVI.32–34). Lombardy is the place where his prowess is put to the test (XXIX–XLIII). He becomes lost in a forest and comes across an evil knight, the ruler of an underground cavern, who was disinherited by the duke of Lombardy (XXXI.20); eventually he rescues a woman abducted by the knight. In accordance with the idea that he plays a distinctive role in the journey, it is prowess, rather than his ability to interpret dreams, which saves him from the empress's trick. Thus when he dreams the prophetic dream about the Crown of Thorns, it merely leaves him with a feeling of anxiety (XL.5–6). After hearing that Marques has killed the rebel knight who laid Lombardy waste, the duke accepts that Marques has rendered him a service and ignores the letter from the empress ordering his arrest. In the second Constantinople scene, Marques's prowess is equally to the fore. The emperor requests help against the pagans (LXVII.4–10), and the hero excels in battle (LXVIII–LXXI). When one of the emperor's enemies sends a message claiming Constantinople (LXXV.4–5), Marques is the only one willing to fight; and it is to Marques that the emperor of Constantinople turns for advice on what to do with the prisoners of war (LXXXI.15–18). This emphasis on chivalry is complemented by the hero's relationship with Laurine, the emperor's sister, in the first Constantinople episode. She lives in 'Beau Manoir' outside Constantinople, surrounded by a 'vergiers' enclosed by walls and given her by her brother (XLVI.21–22). Such domestic spaces are usually owned by men, so it is significant here that the 'Manoir' has been given to Laurine by her brother. I suggest that the text's interpretation of the garden topos, along with the fact that Laurine is the emperor's sister rather than daughter, tends to dissociate her from the city of Constantinople. She is identified more with 'Beau Manoir' and the garden than with the city itself.⁴⁵ She is famous for *beauté* and *sens*, the two qualities Marques also combines; and has the additional quality of nobility, since she is the cousin of the emperor of Rome and is related to many other nobles (XLVI.25–27).

A radical contrast between the Rome and journey episodes of the text can be detected in the representation of space in the miniatures of BNF, fr. 93. Framed stories often juxtapose the order of the frame narrative with the evil

⁴⁴ Speer, pp. 311–33; *Marques*, ed. Panvini, pp. 23–35.

⁴⁵ See Augspach, pp. 13–16, 120–21.

and sin of the embedded stories. Through the representation of space in the manuscript as demarcated between inside and outside, deliberation and stasis are opposed to action, awareness and change, and Rome is opposed to active chivalry. Hans R. Runte has pointed out that the miniatures of the *Sept Sages* stories in the same manuscript also use this device of the door-window, and has identified how comparisons are made between inside and outside through pointing fingers and through the movement and cross-identification of characters.⁴⁶ The open door-window is found in many other miniatures illustrating the *Marques* text in this manuscript, but in all the cases other than in the stories I have discussed above the exterior scene onto which the window looks is empty.⁴⁷ The precedence of outside over inside is a feature of most of the miniatures illustrating Marques's journey. Indeed, most of the illustrated outside scenes not connected with the storytelling concern Marques's role as chivalric hero and lover, and are therefore mainly focused on his journey to Constantinople. This is especially clear on fol. 37v, where the miniature depicts an outside scene showing Marques's horse, Marques kneeling before Laurine and a turret in the background. The only other miniature relating to the Constantinople episode (fol. 35r), shows Marques and Laurine in an enclosed grassy space intended to figure the orchard of *Bel Manoir*. In the rubrics of both of these miniatures, Laurine is referred to as *royne*, the emphasis being on Marques's relationship to Laurine in her own right rather than as the emperor's sister. Other miniatures portray the castle exterior as the background for exterior chivalric action.⁴⁸

The contrast between Rome and active chivalry is particularly in evidence in the miniature on fol. 53v, illustrating the seventh story (Plate 4(b), opposite). On the left, the emperor and empress talk; the right is an exterior scene, showing a tower surrounded by grass, with a man being hoisted up the tower in a basket in order to meet his lover. The presence of the turret may recall Marques's journey to Constantinople and his relationship with Laurine. We are confronted with the problem that reading the journey as a demonstration of the hero's chivalric prowess comes close to the empress's critical view of the journey, implicitly reflected in this story where the tower, recalling the Constantinople episode, is the site of an illicit relationship.

In the storytelling scene, three of the empress's stories reflect this misleading emphasis on chivalry more explicitly. They show clear parallels with the episode of Marques's first visit to Constantinople and his relation-

⁴⁶ Runte, pp. 53–60; Jaunzems, pp. 46–47.

⁴⁷ The miniatures representing an empty exterior scene are the following: three of the four compartments of the opening miniature on fol. 17r; fols 20v, 22v, 29v, 41r and 46r.

⁴⁸ On fol. 26v, illustrating Marques's participation in the tournament organized by the empress, the miniature portrays an outside scene looked on by three women under a canopy; fol. 33r, depicting the end of the Lombardy episode, shows Marques on a horse riding away from a castle.



(a)



(b)

4. *Marques de Rome* (Paris, 1466), in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 93, (a) fol. 52r and (b) fol. 53v.

ship with Laurine, distorting the story in order to concentrate on the chivalric aspect. The first story is about the son of the emperor of Rome who goes with his valet to Babylon, and helps the emperor in his wars against the caliph of Egypt (LXXXV). On his deathbed the sultan grants him the hand of his daughter in marriage (and hence also the kingdom). But the valet steals the ring which is to act as the signal to the sultan's daughter, and becomes sultan in his master's place. The empress gives her own interpretation of the story: it signifies Marques's supposed betrayal of the emperor of Rome (LXXXVI.1–3). I believe that we can also view this story as a reflection on Marques's journey to Constantinople, whereby his relationship with the Byzantine emperor's sister is reinterpreted as a relationship with the sultan's daughter, and reconfigured as his usurpation of a lord's prerogative; in other words, it is misread as a quest for power.

The ninth story is about a seneschal who is married to the daughter of the emperor of Rome. In order to inherit the throne he has the emperor's son killed (CII). He is able to carry out the murder because the son regularly goes to a 'bel manoir' outside the city, which is surrounded by a 'vergiers' (CII.5), possibly recalling the characterization of Laurine's residence in the first Constantinople episode. When the murder becomes known, the seneschal is thrown into prison but released when the daughter protests his innocence. He is crowned emperor straightaway and the old emperor dies of grief. Again, this represents the empress's jealousy of Marques's influence in Rome. But it also hints at her critical view of his stay in Constantinople: the story interprets Marques's relationship with Laurine, represented by the *vergiers*, as motivated by an ambition to increase his social standing.

The eleventh story is a version of the *Cligès* story (CVI).⁴⁹ The nephew of the emperor of Constantinople falls in love with his uncle's wife, and she feigns death in order to be able to join him in a 'bele meson hors de Costantinoble', surrounded by a 'vergier' (CVI.8). This makes the parallel with Marques's stay in Constantinople clear enough. The adulterous nature of the love relationship is stressed by the absence of the potion of virginity present in Chrétien's version, and by the fact that, as in the first story, the woman is not the emperor's sister but his wife. The empress interprets her story as proof not only that Marques's fictitious seduction of the emperor of Rome's daughter is an offence against the service he owes his lord, but that his marriage to Laurine (the emperor of Rome's cousin) is an offence against 'parentaige' (CVII.3). Taken together, these stories imply that Marques is not a true servant of the emperor of Rome by equating his journey to Constantinople with a search for power.

However, the true significance of Marques's journey to Constantinople lies in its renunciation of city and woman. Ultimately, the empress's critique of

⁴⁹ For Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès*, see Chapter 1, pp. 18, 19.

the power of narrative is justified, but it is a critique that applies equally to her own stories. The body reveals itself only in the journey, which sustains, but also exceeds, the Sages' view of it. In the first Constantinople episode, Laurine has Marques arrested as he attempts to leave the city, but in his prison the hero insists that they both remain chaste (LII.31–33). And when it becomes known that Marques is with Laurine, the emperor insists that they come into the city so that no more rumours will spread (LIV.6). In the second Constantinople episode, no mention is made of the *vergier* of *Bel Manoir*. The text's ethic of renunciation is revealed in the hero's refusal to have sex or even to kiss unless it is for the purpose of procreating children (LXXIV.8–17). He proposes almost total sexual abstinence even in marriage.⁵⁰ When first the emperor of Rome, and second the Sages on a visit, want Marques to return to Rome with his wife, the emperor of Constantinople requests that he stay (LXXXII.4–7). Yet when his wife dies Marques returns to Rome; we learn that afterwards the emperor of Constantinople dies without an heir and Marques's son inherits the empire (LXXXII.9). The hero's renunciation of city and woman – underpinned by the parallel with Christ – suggests that we view this marriage between a bourgeois and the sister of the Byzantine emperor as a reconciliation of clerkly and chivalric ideals.

The motif of the journey to Constantinople adds the dimension of chivalry to the text's debate on the sexuality of the male hero. But the tension between clerkly and chivalric activity is resolved by the text's conclusion which, in describing the hero's wise rejection of love and rank, moves beyond the stories' association of masculinity with criminality and reinterprets the role of the male hero. This means that ultimately, both text and manuscript unambiguously favour the renewal of Rome and relegate East–West relations to a temporary episode. It is thus not the storytelling but the journey to Constantinople – along with its temporary nature and his ability to give it up – that really shows who Marques is and that allows him to embody Western renewal. Gilbert Dahan has noted that the theme of progress (a term to which, as I noted in the Introduction, I prefer renewal) was less mingled with the notion of the ageing of the world in the theology of the thirteenth century than it was in that of the twelfth, and was accompanied by a sense of the progress of knowledge and thought.⁵¹ Such an intellectual milieu seems to be reflected in the text's unambiguous location of renewal in the West.

Through the device of competing narratives, expressed through their use of embedded stories and allegorical personifications, both *Marques* and the Rutebeuf poems show how renewal through *translatio* can be jeopardized by the difficulty of discerning and embodying truth. Renewal becomes all too

⁵⁰ Speer, pp. 326–27.

⁵¹ Dahan, pp. 183–84.

easily (and uneasily) transformed into degeneration, the (deceptively similar) other side of the coin. The texts reach different conclusions about the feasibility of renewing the West. In Rutebeuf's 'Complainte de Constantinople', the progress of *translatio* from East to West culminates in a total absence of *chevalerie*, giving an impression of stagnation, degeneration and neglect. In *Marques*, the adaptation of the motif of the Byzantine princess, exemplified by the replacement of daughter with sister, and the relegation of chivalry to a mere episode in Marques's career, allow the city of Constantinople to be subsequently renounced in favour of an explicit *translatio* to the West. Thus while in the Rutebeuf poems the journey to Constantinople not only fails to provide a solution to, but is itself jeopardized by, the problem of locating truth, in *Marques* the reconciliation of the journey to Constantinople with the notion of clerkly service to the emperor sheds light on the corruption of Rome and renews it. In the fiction of *Marques*, the romance motif of the journey to Constantinople can be reconciled with the didactic clerkly subtext of the text as a whole, but it is ultimately subordinated to it, demonstrating the thirteenth-century renunciation, in the milieu of the Mendicant friars, of chivalric activity. But in the historical events refracted in the Rutebeuf poems, the story is primarily one of decline and neglect, and the loss of chivalry wrought by the rise of the Mendicants is seen as negative.

At the end of the first section of this chapter I noted that the ironical stance of the Rutebeuf narrator (his endorsement of vice masquerading as virtue) resembles the deceptiveness attributed to the Sages by the empress in *Marques*. Taking this comparison further and using it as a basis for comparing these two texts is outside the scope of this book, but interesting conclusions on the historical milieux of these two texts could perhaps be drawn. Given the known Mendicant context in which *Marques* arose, which I noted at the beginning of this chapter, the text could perhaps mirror the conflict between the Friars and the secular masters. This would have implications for the date, suggesting a date during or soon after the 1250s. In this case *Marques* would espouse the side of the Friars, whereas Rutebeuf in his poems takes the other side. This conclusion is tempting, especially since it would explain *Marques*'s lack of interest in Constantinople as a means of renewal, in a context in which the city was equated with and seen as a symbol of the crusading effort that had led to its capture in 1204.

The *translatio* topos can be exploited both to shift the focus from *aemulatio* to *renovatio* and to problematize the very location of renewal in the West. As we will see in the next chapter, Venetian historiography on the subject of the Fourth Crusade exemplifies a tension between renewal and conquest. Western communities are presented as models for loyalty, and this has implications for the protagonists' dealings with Constantinople.

Appendix: manuscripts containing *Marques*

Manuscripts containing *Marques*, with or without other texts from the cycle: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 93 (formerly 6767, earlier still 219, even earlier St Germain 120): dated 1466, contains whole cycle; BNF, fr. 17000: mid-fourteenth century, contains *Marques*, *Laurin* and *Cassidorus*; BNF, fr. 22548–50 (formerly La Vallière 4096, earlier still La Vallière 13): fourteenth century, contains whole cycle in 3 vols; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9245: first half of fourteenth century, whole cycle except *Kanor*; Saint-Étienne, Bibliothèque Municipale, 109 (formerly 965): fourteenth century, *Sept Sages* and *Marques*; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9433: first half of fourteenth century, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*, *Laurin*; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MacClean 179: late thirteenth century, *Laurin*, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*, none of the texts complete; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 49 (formerly 122, earlier still 54): late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*, *Laurin*; BNF, nouv. acq. fr., 12791: fourteenth century, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*; Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 3152 (formerly 246): fourteenth century, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 252: fourteenth century, *Marques*; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, fr. 14: mid-fourteenth century, fragment, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*.

Manuscripts containing other texts: BNF, fr. 19166: early 1280s, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, Wace's *Conception de Notre-Dame*; Arsenal, 3355 (formerly 247): thirteenth century, *Marques*, *Laurin*, Jean de Tuin's *Ystore de Jules César*; Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (formerly 139): dated 1278, contains various hagiographical and liturgical texts, *Marques*; Mons, Bibl. Mun., 330/215: thirteenth century, *Sept Sages*, *Marques*, other texts; BNF, fr. 1444 (formerly 7534): thirteenth century, includes Herman de Valenciennes, *Le Roman de sapience*; a French translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*; Gautier d' Arras's *Eracle*; *L'Image du monde*; Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'amours*; *Sept Sages* and *Marques*; BNF, fr. 24431: thirteenth century, includes a French *Turpin* chronicle, the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, a *Sept Sages* prose version, *Marques*, *Lettre du prêtre Jean*; Lyon, Bibl. Mun., 867 (formerly 772): thirteenth century, includes *Marques*, various liturgical, homiletic and hagiographical texts, *L'Ordre de chevalerie*, a French version of *Barlaam et Josaphat*.

See *Marques*, ed. Panvini, pp. 9, 42; *Marques*, ed. Alton, pp. xii–xlvi; *Le Roman de Cassidorus*, I, pp. xxxiv–xliii; Thorpe, *A First Contribution*, pp. 10–33; Foehr-Janssens, pp. 438, 488; Ross, pp. 70–75; Runte, pp. 59–60; Folda, pp. 196–97, 119–28; Zacour and Hirsch, pp. 56–57; Gaspar and Lyna,

I, 275–82, 310–12; Gaspar, pp. 109–10, 115; Porcher, p. 34; Avril and Lafaurie, p. 86; Vitzthum von Eckstädt, pp. 31–36; Taschereau, I, 6, 224, 227–28; Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: ancien Saint-Germain français*, I, 637–38; III, 258–60; Martin, III (1887), 270–71; Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: ancien petit fonds français*, II (1902), 358–61; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, IV (1872), 68–69; Robert, XXI (1893), 266–67; Robert, XXX (1900), 234–35; Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, II (1900), 92.

Renovatio as Commemoration: Civic Loyalty and the Latin Empire of Constantinople in Venetian Historiography

We have just been looking at the difficulty of discerning truth and the problem that this poses for the location of renewal in the West, and have seen that the journey to Constantinople may provide a potential solution to this problem. Here we look at how Venetian historiography commemorated recent events concerning Venice, and especially its relationship with Byzantium. The texts' celebration of civic loyalty as a model for imitation contributes to their elaboration of the theme of Western renewal.

The association between Venice and Byzantium stretches back for centuries before the thirteenth, when the earliest text with which I will be dealing was produced. Originally a Byzantine province, and then under Byzantine jurisdiction, in the tenth century Venice rose to be an independent sovereign state that continued to maintain close ties with the Byzantine Empire. Over the years between 992 and 1198 Venice obtained from Byzantium a number of trading privileges, in the form of chrysobulls or imperial diplomas acting as commercial treaties, which regulated trade and the traffic of Venetian merchant ships. In 1082 the Venetians gained their own quarter in Constantinople, and established a permanent colony of traders there, with certain buildings, a church and three landing stages officially designated as Venetian property. The doge received the hereditary title of *protosebastos* with an attached pension. Other Italian city-republics, including Genoa, entered into trading agreements with Byzantium in the course of the twelfth century.¹

This long-standing political interaction between East and West is reflected in Venetian historiography. Patricia Fortini Brown distinguishes two paradigms in recent critical understanding of thirteenth-century Venice: Gina Fasoli's investigation of the myth of Venice as a republic loyal to the Church; and Otto Demus's idea of an architectural *renovatio imperii christiani* through the decoration of the basilica of San Marco with Byzantine imitations and reworked original spoils. These two paradigms (civic loyalty and architectural *renovatio*) have influenced the first and third sections of this

¹ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 273–74; Nicol, pp. 19, 33–36, 61, 94–95.

chapter respectively. They are closely connected, since the looting of booty from Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade, and the impetus that this event gave to Venice as an imperial power, reanimated and enlivened an ongoing process of renewal. Such renewal is also manifest in other Venetian political myths that stress loyalty, one of the most significant of which was the elaboration in later historiography of the Peace of Venice of 1177, a celebration of Venice's role in the settling of a dispute between papacy and empire.² The Peace commemorated the reconciliation between the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, which took place in Venice in July 1177 under Doge Sebastiano Ziani (1172–78). Venice gained in trading privileges and in prestige from the event, which was embellished by legend.³

The chronicles with which I will be concerned in this chapter deal with the ideology arising from Venice's history of contacts with Byzantium by providing examples of a call to renewal in the present through imitation of the recent Western past, namely the Fourth Crusade and the Peace of Venice. The bulk of the chapter focuses on Martino da Canal's *Estoire de Venise*, a chronicle written in French.⁴ In Canal's chronicle a model for Western political renewal is provided by loyalty to the papacy, which safeguards and sanctions the Venetian trading monopoly and provides a focus for civic loyalty. The same themes are treated in an illuminated manuscript, copied in Venice, which contains Geoffroy de Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* and Bonincontro dei Bovi's Latin account of the Peace of Venice. Finally, Canal's presentation of the figure of St Mark lays bare the process by which renewal is realized.

Civic loyalty as model: Venice and Byzantium in Martino da Canal's *Estoire de Venise*

Martino da Canal's *Estoire de Venise* is a chronicle of the history of Venice from the city's foundation to 1275. Canal names himself twice in his work

² Brown, pp. 15–17, 19–20, 24; Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*'; *ibid.*, 'Nascita di un mito'; Demus, 'Oriente e Occidente', pp. 113–14.

³ Nicol, p. 103; Norwich, *Venice*, pp. 137–41. For a thorough account of the development of the legend of the Peace of Venice, see Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito', pp. 473–77.

⁴ The use of French as a literary language in Italy was widespread from the twelfth century onwards. Some Italian authors writing in French spent many years in France, such as Brunetto Latini and Aldobrandino di Siena. Others, such as Marco Polo and Martino da Canal himself, favoured French not only because it was seen as a more aristocratic and pleasing language, but also because of its supposed international and universal qualities. See Brunetto Latini, I.1.7 (p. 18); Dante, I.10.2 (pp. 22–23); Segre, pp. 631–33; Gaspary, pp. 109–10; Guthmüller, pp. 228–33. For convenience I refer to Canal's text as the *Estoire* rather than *Les Estoires* (the title of Limentani's edition).

but nothing is known of him outside the text. However, since historiographical activity in thirteenth-century Venice was carefully controlled by the ruling authorities, we can surmise that the chronicle's author was a state employee. Certainly both language and attitude prove that he was Venetian and that he wrote the chronicle in Venice. As he informs us in the prologues to parts one and two, he began the chronicle in 1267 under Doge Renier Zeno (1253–68). Most of it was written between 1267 and the death of Renier Zeno in July 1268 (II.CVII). The remainder was written over the seven-year period between 1268 and 1275, and the final section especially is very episodic (II.CLXXII–II.CXCVI).⁵ Canal's attitude to Byzantium, and the Fourth Crusade in particular, is influenced by the concerns of the period in which he was writing. In 1261 the Greeks had recaptured Constantinople, and Michael VIII Paleologus had been crowned emperor. The treaty of Nymphaeum of 1261, where the Greeks formed an alliance with Venice's enemy Genoa, had a negative impact on the Venetian economy. When Canal began to write in 1267, a Latin retaking of Constantinople would still have appeared possible. Awareness of the loss of Venice's trading empire in Byzantium and the concomitant hope for its regain motivate Canal's portrayal of his native city. But by the time he stopped writing in 1275, it would have seemed increasingly unlikely that the Byzantine capital would be recaptured. This progressive awareness of the difficulty of revitalizing and renewing the Venetian economy is reflected in his account.⁶

Canal's interpretation of the Peace of Venice and the Fourth Crusade exemplifies his desire to affirm Venice's ecclesiastical orthodoxy, an approach that may have been inspired by encouragements from those in government. The author makes this intention clear in the prologue to part one, where he states

⁵ The edition used is: Martino da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, ed. Limentani. References are cited by part, section and line number; following Limentani, I have used roman numerals for sections as well as parts. Translations are my own, but I have also consulted Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, trans. Morreale. The text survives in a single manuscript: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1919, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, almost certainly copied in Venice, and probably in an official scriptorium. See Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. xxi–xxxii, lxvii–lxxvi; Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*', pp. 42, 44–53. Canal's presence in Venice can be inferred from the following passages: I.XII.6, II.I.7, II.LXXXVII.1, II.CLVII.1, II.CLXVIII. This is also implied by his support of the Venetians and his desire to involve his readers in the narrative, using the expression 'lors, seignors, se la fussiés a celui point, peüssiés avoir veü Venisiens'. See I.XLV.3, I.LXV.6–7, I.LXVIII.7, I.LXXXII.8, I.LXXXV.6, I.XCII.6, I.XCIII.6–7, I.CII.2, I.CXII.5, I.CXIII.3, II.IV.5, II.XXXII.5, II.LV.7, II.LVI.6, II.LVII.2, II.LVIII.3, II.LXVII.7, II.LXXV.3, II.LXXVIII.1, II.CXLI.5, II.CLXXVII.6, II.CLXXIX.8, II. CXCIII.5.

⁶ Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. xlix–l; Limentani, 'Martin da Canal e *Les Estoires de Venise*', pp. 593–95; Cracco, pp. 60–64. For convenience I have incorporated the necessary historical background in my discussion of Canal's treatment of events, drawing on the information in Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. 397–437. For a summary of key events of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, see Appendix 3.

that the city does not harbour heretics, usurers, murderers or thieves, and that in all things the Venetians obey the commands of the Church (I.I.1).⁷ Owing to a lacuna in the manuscript, Canal's version of the Peace of Venice is largely missing, and the text contains only the last part of the episode (I.XXIX). However, the Latin *Cronaca* of Marco (1292) has a version of the Peace which may be similar to Canal's since we know that it used Canal as a source.⁸ Marco's *Cronaca* emphasizes the hosting of the Peace in Venice, since the reconciliation of emperor with Pope happens 'before the door of the basilica of San Marco' ('ante ianuam ecclesie sancti Marci').⁹ The Peace is enabled by Venice's papal loyalty, since the city provides the Pope with a refuge. Moreover, this becomes a focus for civic loyalty, mediated through the central role of San Marco, with which the collective community of the Venetians is identified. One of the likely sources of Canal's chronicle, the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, also emphasizes the importance of location in its exaltation of Venice's role in hosting the Peace: 'Therefore there was great joy that day in Venice, and people rejoiced in the universal Peace, saying to the Venetians: "How blessed you are, as hosts to the re-establishment of such a Peace; indeed this will be an eternal memorial to your name."' ¹⁰ Later in this chapter I elaborate further on the use of architectural description as a mediator of loyalty and as a means of encouraging imitation of the events narrated.

Canal's account of the Fourth Crusade sets up the Venetians' papal and civic loyalty as a model, and contrasts it with the disloyalty of the Byzantines (I.XXXVI–I.LXII). His probable source for this episode, the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, presents a much more historically accurate version of the crusade, as does Geoffroy de Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*, although critics have not reached any definite conclusions about whether or not Canal also drew on Villehardouin. However, it is certainly likely that an extensive tradition about the Fourth Crusade existed in Venice, and Canal may well have had access to other texts that provided him with the basis for his patriotic reinterpretation of the Venetians' involvement in it.¹¹ In Canal's version, the conquests of the Hungarian city of Zara, and of Constantinople itself, are presented as the result of the Venetians' obedience to papal orders. Thus the doge pledges that he will accompany the crusaders 'au service de

⁷ Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*', pp. 51, 55–56; Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. l–li, lviii.

⁸ Limentani, 'Martin da Canal e *Les Estoires de Venise*', p. 600; Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. xxxix, lxxv, cccix; Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*', pp. 54–55.

⁹ Canal, ed. Limentani, p. cccxiii; *Cronaca Veneta*, p. 262. For extracts from the *Cronaca* of Marco, see *Cronaca Veneta*, pp. 257–67.

¹⁰ *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, p. 83; Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito', p. 466.

¹¹ For Canal's reinterpretation of the Fourth Crusade, see Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*', pp. 56–57; Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. xxxix–xlvi, lv–lviii; Limentani, 'Martino da Canal e l'Oriente mediterraneo', pp. 248–51; Carile, pp. 185–93; Cracco, p. 64.

sainte Yglise' (I.XXXVI.4–5).¹² When all the crusaders arrive in Venice, a special welcome is extended to the papal legate (I.XXXVII.5–6). The Pope himself sends the crusaders a message asking them to go to Constantinople and crown Alexius (I.XLII.2).¹³ The crusaders decide to conquer the city as a result of the Greeks' refusal of the papal legate's request that they accept Alexius as emperor (I.XLV.1–2). Earlier in the account, the inhabitants of Zara, who rebelled against Venetian rule, are designated as *orguillos* (I.XXXIX.2), and this is echoed in the description of the Greeks of Constantinople (I.XLI.4–5).

Moreover, Canal presents the Venetians as the prime movers in the events leading up to the Latin conquest of the city (I.XLVI). When the emperor of Constantinople, Alexius Murzuphlus, offers to compensate the crusaders for the money they have spent, and promises to accept Alexius, the French suggest they should ignore these terms, but the doge reminds them that as crusaders they should accept Murzuphlus's conditions (I.XLIX).¹⁴ After Alexius is murdered, the French ask to be allowed to conquer the city themselves, but their lack of experience with sea warfare puts them at a disadvantage in comparison with the Venetians. Prior to the conquest, the doge makes a speech reminding the Venetians of their ancestors' victories in Tyre, Syria and Dalmatia (I.LI.7). These victories were charted earlier in the text in an account of the establishment of Venetian trading posts in the Levant (I.XIII–I.XXII).¹⁵ After the conquest, the French offer the empire to the Venetians, but they refuse it (I.LV.1–3). In the end Venice gains three-eighths of the empire, the division being established by papal decree (I.LV.4–7). Canal inserts at the end of the Fourth Crusade episode a translation of the Venetian version of the *Partitio Romanie*, a document recording the division of the Byzantine Empire among the crusaders (I.LVII–I.LXII). The presence of the *Partitio* serves to underpin Canal's interpretation of the Fourth Crusade as a model for the potential recovery or safeguarding of Venetian interests in Byzantium. Canal alludes to this document while he is awaiting the outcome of the Council of Lyons of 1274, since he notes not only that Byzantium belongs to Philip of Courtenay, the son of Baldwin II, the deposed Latin emperor, but also that three-eighths of the Empire belongs to Venice:

Apartient a monsignor li dus de Venise la carte partie et demi partie de l'autre carte part, ensi con lor ancestres en firent la partie, lors quant il pristrent celui enpire par l'espee, par le comandement de l'apostoille que a celui tens seoit el siege de monsignor saint Piere. (II.CLXVIII.10–12)

¹² For other examples of this expression, see I.XXXVIII.1–2; I.LV.7.

¹³ References to Alexius refer to Alexius IV Angelus unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁴ Canal confuses two Byzantine emperors, Alexius III Angelus and Alexius Murzuphlus. See Appendix 3.

¹⁵ For the historical background, see Canal, ed. Limentani, p. 397.

One quarter and a half of the other quarter belong to the doge of Venice, just as their ancestors divided it up, when they took this empire by the sword, on the command of the pope who at that time sat in the seat of Saint Peter.

This sanctions the legal right of both French and Venetians over the empire in the present day.¹⁶ It also materializes this right by making the text itself bear witness to the past as a model for present renewal. Later I will return to this idea of the text as mediator, and show how it is strengthened by Canal's presentation of San Marco.

Venetian control over the Latin Empire of Constantinople is underlined at many points later in the text. Canal often details who was *podestà* of Constantinople, and the city is the base for many military expeditions (I.LXV, I.LXXI–II). The narrative of events concerning the Latin Empire at times recalls the Fourth Crusade, following a genealogical model whereby the descendants of Enrico Dandolo, doge at the time of the Fourth Crusade, are singled out for praise and compared with their famous ancestor.¹⁷ Renier Dandolo is one of the Venetian captains in 1206 (I.LXV.2); Giberto Dandolo is one of those involved in battle after 1261 (II.XXIX.1–3). On each occasion, we are either reminded explicitly that Enrico Dandolo conquered Constantinople, or reference is made to his deeds recounted earlier in the chronicle. Such a genealogical model is also used to set up links between later events in the history of Venetian involvement in Byzantium. When the Greeks retake Constantinople in 1261, the deposed Latin emperor Baldwin II is conducted to safety in Negroponte by the *podestà* Marco Gradenigo (II.XXXIX). When Marin Gradenigo is later appointed captain, Canal reminds us of his father Marco (II.CXXXV.4–5). Connections are made in other ways than by genealogy. Allusions to the pride of the Genoese in the post-1261 context recall Canal's characterization of the Greeks and Hungarians as *orguillos* in his account of the Fourth Crusade. Thus Doge Renier Zeno asks Pope Urban IV and other Western authorities to support a crusade on Baldwin II's behalf (II.XLII). In 1266 and again in 1268 Pope Clement IV and Louis IX send messengers to Genoa asking them to make peace with Venice in view of the preparations (II.LXIX–LXX, II.CII). The Genoese refuse the Pope's request, and this refusal is described three times as *orgueil* (II.LXXII.10, II.LXXIII.1–2, II.LXXX.5).¹⁸

Two episodes use the Fourth Crusade and early events in the history of the Latin Empire as models for Venice's relationship with the city-states of

¹⁶ Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. xxxviii–xxxix, lv–lvi; Carile, pp. 172–85.

¹⁷ On allusions to the Fourth Crusade later in the chronicle, see Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. lvi–lviii, lxii–lxiii.

¹⁸ For Canal's extensive use of the terms *orgueil* and *cruel* to designate Venice's enemies, see Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. cclvii–cclix.

the Veneto. The first episode is the war between Pope Gregory IX and the Ghibelline Salinguerra di Torello for Ferrara (1240). The papal faction win the war when Doge Giacomo Tiepolo (1229–49) comes in person to help, leading Canal to recall the time when the same doge was *podestà* of Constantinople, and defeated Theodore I Lascaris (1204–22), the Greek emperor in exile (I.XCV.8–9). In Canal’s fictional conclusion to the war, Salinguerra offers the city to the doge, but he refuses it on the grounds that he had come in the service of the Church, and not for Venetian profit. This implicitly parallels the Venetians’ refusal of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 (I.XCVI.1–2). The second episode concerns the role of Doge Giacomo Tiepolo in Venice’s support to the papal crusade against the Ghibelline Ezzelino III da Romano. This provides Canal with the opportunity to refer to the doge’s many victories, both before and during his tenure of office – an oblique reference to his time as *podestà* of Constantinople (I.CXXVII). Twice during the last stages of the war papal legates are sent to Venice to preach against the tyrant Ezzelino (I.CXXXVI, I.CXLIV–I.V). On both occasions the doge, now Renier Zeno, gives an answering speech inviting Venetian participation and recalling earlier generations’ deeds in the Holy Land and Byzantium.¹⁹ The same word *podestà* – which Canal translates as ‘poesté’ – is used to refer to the Venetian office in both the Veneto and Byzantium.²⁰ This reinforces the impression that Canal makes little attempt to distinguish between these communities as foreign powers with whom Venice is involved. In conclusion, Canal’s repeated allusions to the role played by the Venetians in the Fourth Crusade and other key events in East–West relations underline his presentation of Venice as a community whose harmony is derived from loyalty to the papacy. By effacing the temporal distance between past and present, his chronicle makes the city’s recent past a model for present Venetian ideals and actions and a blueprint for renewal.²¹

Ordering the Venetian community: text and image in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 587

As we have just seen, Canal’s treatment of the Fourth Crusade and the Peace of Venice elevate civic loyalty into a model for renewal. An illuminated manuscript, although later in date than Martino da Canal by approximately fifty years, reinterprets the same events in order to celebrate loyalty to the Venetian community and present order as the driving force behind history.

¹⁹ Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. li–liv; Norwich, *Venice*, pp. 177–83.

²⁰ Canal, ed. Limentani, p. 390.

²¹ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 98–106. On Venetian quasi-imperial claims on Constantinople as a kind of *translatio civitatis* rather than *translatio imperii* (i.e. focused merely on a particular city’s symbol), see Ş. Marin, pp. 84–86, 92–93.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 587 is a manuscript on parchment measuring 270 by 200 mm and written in two columns of approximately 34 lines each. It contains three texts, each written in a different hand. The first is Geoffroy de Villehardouin's chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, the *Conquête de Constantinople*, written on seven quires of eight leaves each (fols 1–56r, col. 1). Folios 56v and 57r are blank, and the second text, to which I will return in a moment, is written on a bifolium (fols 57v–58v, col. 1). The third is Bonincontro dei Bovi's account of the Peace of Venice, beginning 'History of the trouble and persecution that the Church had with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in the time of Pope Alexander III, and finally of the Peace arranged and established among them by the Venetians',* and written on a single quire of six leaves (fols 59r–64r, col. 2).²² The third text is not identified in any discussion of the manuscript known to me, but Giovanni Monticolo's edition of Bovi's text provides a list of manuscripts consulted, including Laud. Misc. 587. Born in Bologna, Bonincontro dei Bovi was a scribe in the Venetian Ducal Chancery. His account was commissioned in 1317 and is likely to have been written around 1320.²³ On the basis of the likely date of production of the second text, the manuscript has been dated to around 1328 to 1341, but Degenhart and Schmitt suggest that the illumination may indicate an earlier date in the 1320s.²⁴ It is the Villehardouin and Bovi texts, and the Italian miniatures illustrating them, that will be my main focus.

The presence of the second text, which concerns the Latin Empire of Constantinople, points to the centrality of East–West relations as a unifying theme in the manuscript. Certainly written by a Venetian, it is a short account of the last years of the Latin Empire and subsequent events up to 1328. It includes the Greek reconquest of 1261, the flight of Baldwin II, and his unsuccessful efforts, joined by Philip of Courtenay, Charles of Anjou, Charles of Valois and Venice, to recapture Constantinople. It begins 'Since the conquest of the empire of Romania has been written in the first part of this book and not completed as far as the loss of the city of Constantinople, I shall thus write of it elsewhere'.* Although from a palaeographical and codicological point of view the manuscript is not homogenous, this reference to a preceding text that does not follow events as far as 1261 suggests, as Robert Lee Wolff has conjectured, that the text was written as a continuation to Villehardouin and intended to follow Villehardouin in the manuscript. It was probably written by the crusade propagandist Marino Sanudo Torsello (also known as Marino Sanudo the Elder) or at least by someone very familiar with his writings.²⁵ Moreover, the manuscript's illumination is stylistically close to that

²² Coxe, pp. 418–19.

²³ Bonincontro dei Bovi, pp. 370, 411–17; Brown, p. 34.

²⁴ Degenhart and Schmitt, pp. 21–22; Pächt and Alexander, p. 12; Wolff, p. 149.

²⁵ Wolff, pp. 149–50, 155–59.

of a copy of Sanudo's *Secreta fidelium Crucis*, produced in a workshop in Venice between 1315 and 1330. We know that Sanudo used Villehardouin as a source and that he possessed a 'book about the conquest of Constantinople' (*liber de conquisto Constantinopolitano*), which he left to the city of Venice in his will of 1343. It is highly probable that Laud. Misc. 587 was either produced in the Sanudo workshop or in one closely related to it, and it may have been produced on Sanudo's orders, as were most of the manuscripts from that workshop.²⁶ Sanudo came from a family with some impressive connections to Byzantium, being the great-nephew of Doge Enrico Dandolo. The *Secreta* is his most famous work, and was completed by 1321. This is a treatise on the recovery of the Holy Places, which explains the need for a crusade against the Turks.²⁷

The authorship of the second text, and the evidence provided by the illumination, acquires greater significance when we remember that the manuscript was produced in a milieu where political cooperation with Byzantium was vitally important. In 1306 Doge Pietro Gradenigo and Charles of Valois, whose wife Catherine of Courtenay was the granddaughter of the deposed Latin emperor Baldwin II, signed a treaty arranging to reclaim Byzantium. Pope Clement V blessed the project and called it a crusade. However, a dispute over the possession of Ferrara led to a war between Venice and Pope Clement V, and in 1309 Venice was excommunicated. Moreover, Venice was interested in protecting its colonies in Greece as much as in the more ambitious desire to reinstate the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In 1310 a treaty was drawn up between Venice and Byzantium safeguarding the former's trading interests, and renewing earlier treaties of 1285 and 1302. The accession of Doge Giovanni Soranzo (1312–28) heralded a new era of stability. A further treaty with Byzantium, the fruit of long negotiations, was drawn up in 1324. The Venetians began to consider how they could co-operate with Byzantium in driving the Turks back.²⁸

In this context, Villehardouin's *Conquête* may have been copied in order to present the Fourth Crusade as a model for Venetian intervention in Byzantine affairs. Another copy of Villehardouin – Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français, 4972 (formerly 9644) – was produced in Venice in this period, and may have been copied by the same scribe as the Oxford manuscript. On two preliminary folios B and C it contains the only other extant copy of the text attributed to Sanudo, which is the second text in Laud. Misc. 587.²⁹ It is clear that Villehardouin's narrative was known in Venice by

²⁶ Degenhart and Schmitt, pp. 21–22, 44–48; Pächt and Alexander, p. 12; Avril and Zaluska, pp. 86–87.

²⁷ Atiya, pp. 116–27; Nicol, pp. 252–53.

²⁸ Nicol, pp. 224–27, 230–32, 247–54.

²⁹ Villehardouin's chronicle is extant in six manuscripts, excluding *remaniements* or continuations. I have already mentioned Laud. Misc. 587 and BNF, fr. 4972. These form

the early fourteenth century at the latest. As I noted in the last section, it is even possible that Canal himself may have used Villehardouin as a source. It is not difficult to see why Villehardouin's chronicle might easily have gained popularity among the Venetians. Villehardouin consistently portrays the crusaders as well treated during their stay in Venice, whereas there is evidence to the contrary in Gunther, Clari and other sources. He frequently underlines the Venetians' prowess by rare instances of authorial naming.³⁰ As we will see later, the relationship between text and image in the manuscript lays stress on the importance of preserving the unity of the crusading army as a prerequisite for maintaining order.

The notion that loyalty is conveyed through order is a key concern of the Villehardouin text itself. The author begins his chronicle with the theme of preaching. The subject of the first sentence is Foulques de Neuilly, whom Pope Innocent III orders to preach a crusade, and many take the cross as a result (1–10). This opening episode conveys the notion of *l'œauté* (adjective *l'œal*) – meaning 'loyalty' in the sense of 'legitimacy' or 'law-abiding behaviour'³¹ – transferred into action, and exemplifies Villehardouin's concern with the unity of the crusading army. The collective nature of the army's duty is emphasized when, on his deathbed, Thibaut de Champagne, the original leader of the crusade, asks his men to swear on relics to keep the army together (36). The same need to preserve unity becomes the main reason for excusing the army's conquest of the Hungarian city of Zara, since the Pope grants the crusaders absolution on the grounds that the dissolution of the army necessitated the attack, and asks them to keep the army together in future (106–07).³² Villehardouin states of the fleet that 'bien sembloit estoire

a separate group representing an older tradition than that of the other extant manuscripts. They are very similar to each other, not only in terms of paragraph division, decoration, origin and accessory texts but also the presence of common errors. Three others date from the thirteenth century: BNF, fr. 2137 (formerly 7974), where the text is preceded by the *Roman des Sept Sages*, and followed by various chronicles; BNF, fr. 12204, which contains Villehardouin alone; BNF, fr. 12203, where the text is preceded by chronicles relating to the Holy Land and Flanders, and followed by the continuation of Henri de Valenciennes and the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* of the Anonymous of Béthune. A fifteenth-century manuscript, BNF, fr. 24210, contains the same texts in the same order as BNF, fr. 12203. The text itself dates from 1208 or shortly afterwards. See Faral, 'Pour l'établissement du texte de Villehardouin', pp. 289–90; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, I, pp. x–xii, xviii, xxxvii–xxxix; II, 315; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, ed. Wailly, pp. xi–xiv; Taschereau, IV (1895), 457–58; Wolff, p. 150. References to Villehardouin are from Faral's edition and are cited by paragraph number.

³⁰ Brand, 'The Fourth Crusade', p. 35. For examples of sympathy to Venice, see Villehardouin, ed. Faral, 25–29, 65–67, 173–74, 218.

³¹ Tobler-Lommatzsch, V (1963), 281–86.

³² Geoffroy de Villehardouin, ed. Dufournet, pp. 12–15; *Joinville and Villehardouin*, pp. 12–13; Nichols, 'Fission and Fusion', p. 24.

qui terre deüst conquerre' (120).³³ Similarly, it is the collective nature of Greek responsibility for the murder of Alexius that justifies the crusaders' conquest of Constantinople. This is apparent in the Latin clergy's affirmation that 'cil qui tel murtre faisoit n'avoit droit en terre tenir, et tuit cil qui estoient consentant estoient parçonier del murtre' (224).³⁴ Moreover, when Villehardouin describes the meeting in the Aegean of two boats of deserters returning from Syria, he notes: 'por ce dit hom que de mil males voies puet on retorner' (122).³⁵ The justification of conquest extends to designating the itinerary of those who deserted the army and made their own way to the Holy Land as a *male voie*.³⁶

Hence it is Villehardouin's ideal of service to the collectivity that justifies the conquest of a Christian city in his narrative. This dilemma is not unique to the *Conquête*, but is fundamental to twelfth- and thirteenth-century intellectual expositions on the idea of the just war. These included Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140), commentaries on it by Rufinus of Bologna, Sicard of Cremona and others, and manuals for counselling penitents written by theologians such as Robert of Courson and Thomas of Chobham. Villehardouin's text reflects the ambivalence of such treatises – themselves likely reflections of the problems faced by the man in the field – which on the one hand deplore the idea of killing Christians, while on the other hand see the need to provide for situations where it may be unavoidable.³⁷ Against this background of the just war, the diversion to Constantinople appears as the end-result of a series of accidents. Riley-Smith's interpretation of the crusade stresses the accident theory suggested by Villehardouin's narrative. However, this does not mean that the conquest is in any sense a triumph. As Innocent III said, the capture of Constantinople could only harm, not help, relations between Eastern and Western churches.³⁸ Indeed, Villehardouin recounts a tale of disaster rather than of triumph, since his chronicle ends not with the conquest, but with the death of Boniface of Montferrat.³⁹

As Jean Larmat asserts, 'les difficultés puis les désastres des Croisés

³³ 'It well seemed to be an army that should conquer land.'

³⁴ 'Those who carried out such a murder had no right to hold land, and all those who agreed to it were responsible for the murder.' See Dufournet, I, 74–91. For other passages that stress that the crusaders' right to Constantinople stems from the Greeks' treachery, see Villehardouin, ed. Faral, 144, 271–72.

³⁵ 'That is why people say that one can return from a thousand bad pathways.'

³⁶ On Villehardouin's presentation of Constantinople as the crusaders' true goal, see Hartman, pp. 111–12. See also Pauphilet, *Le Legs du Moyen Âge*, pp. 223, 228.

³⁷ Schmandt, pp. 196–203.

³⁸ Riley-Smith, pp. xxvii–xxx, 121–30 (p. 130); *Historiens et chroniqueurs*, pp. 85–87. See also Faral, 'Geoffroy de Villehardouin'.

³⁹ Hartman, pp. 97–98. Villehardouin almost certainly composed the chronicle between 1207 and late 1208. See Noble, p. 178.

s'expliquent par une théologie fondée sur la responsabilité collective'.⁴⁰ I find Larmat's emphasis on the collectivity more helpful than Nichols's interpretation, which discerns a discrepancy between the model of active faith found in the preaching motif, and the pragmatic nature of events that Villehardouin recounts. Villehardouin is of course first and foremost a layman playing a leading part in a military expedition, but I would suggest that the model of community loyalty exemplified in the preaching scene informs, and is inseparable from, his eye for detail and attention to economic and political motives.⁴¹ In one sense, the conquest is itself founded on this notion of loyalty to the community, as I have demonstrated, but in another sense it results from the failure of this collective ethic. Thus Villehardouin vehemently denounces those who disobeyed orders and sacked the city's treasures, and laments the fact that rain also falls on the just: 'maintes foiz ont damage li bon por les malvais' (253).⁴² Similarly, by criticizing the deserters, the text charts the failure of the preacher's Word to bear fruit. It is the deserters, the bringers of discord, who are blamed for the crusaders' inability to pay the Venetians for their passage (49–51, 54–55, 57, 59). This failure forces the army to go to Constantinople rather than to the Holy Land.

I have interpreted Villehardouin's presentation of conquest as a series of accidents. By contrast, the relationship between text and image in the manuscript tends to imply that the crusaders are an undivided community and that the chronicle ends with the conquest, and thus makes order rather than accident the motive force behind events. The manuscript thus presents a more positive view of the Fourth Crusade, which shows how this event can be a model for renewal. On fol. 1r is a historiated initial S representing Foulques de Neuilly preaching the Fourth Crusade, which as I noted above is the opening event of Villehardouin's chronicle. In the lower border is a miniature portraying the crusading army's arrival at Constantinople, armed ready for battle (Plate 5(a), overleaf). The two miniatures on fol. 1r establish an implicit connection between the clerical preaching of the crusade and the translation of speech into action in the attack on Constantinople, and thereby stress the army's involvement in the conquest. They are narrative images, since they forge links between two particular historical moments, each separately rooted in time; rather than thematic images, which summarize the theme of a text.⁴³

Bovi's account of the Peace of Venice also stresses Venetian order as a

⁴⁰ 'The difficulties and then the disasters of the crusaders can be explained by a theology founded on collective responsibility'.

⁴¹ Larmat, p. 416; Nichols, 'Fission and Fusion', pp. 40–41. For the failure of loyalty within the crusading army in Clari's account of the Fourth Crusade, see Chapter 4, pp. 123–27.

⁴² 'Many times the good suffer harm on account of the evil.'

⁴³ I owe the distinction between narrative and thematic images to Garnier, p. 40.

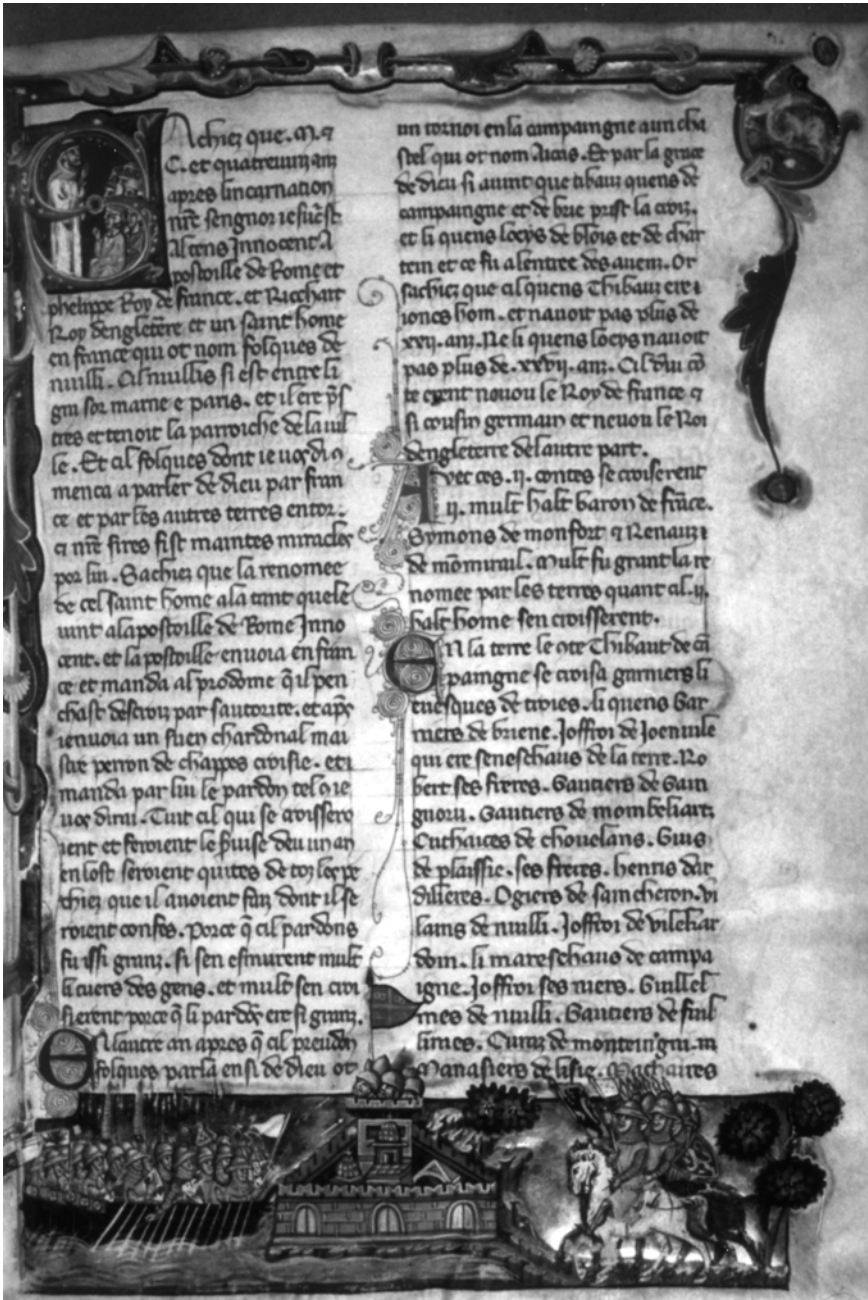
prerequisite for successful foreign policy. The historiated initial on fol. 59r, at the beginning of Bovi's text, emphasizes Venice's diplomatic role in the Peace of 1177. In the centre is Pope Alexander III, and on each side are the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and (I would suggest) the doge of Venice. Below is a figure holding up an olive branch (Plate 5(b), overleaf). The figure with the olive branch is unclear but may represent a personification of peace. This is a thematic rather than a narrative image, since although there are several moments in the account of the Peace where doge, emperor and Pope gather together, it does not seem to refer to any one particular moment. The closest narrative counterpart would be the moment when the emperor does reverence to the Pope in San Marco; this would underpin the symbolic force of the figure with the olive branch.⁴⁴

The symbolic presence of Venice in the miniature becomes more meaningful if we interpret it in relation to the beginning of Bovi's text, where it is located. The opening passage abounds in phrases from the Bible to express the idea that the community of Venice has been renewed through the Peace:

Arise, glory of the Venetians, and convert the pope's lament to joy, since the clothing of joy envelops you. For behold the night of adversity passes and the day of prosperity arrives for you. For the great king who has done wonders by merely opening his hand, out of goodness has granted the Venetians their fill of his great abundance. The city of Venice, too, rejoices and exults in the magnificence of the supreme king who worthily decorates it with manifold gifts and honours. (Bovi, pp. 370–71)*

On the level of the biblical references, the *great king* is God, who comforts the Venetians after the *night of adversity* and renews their community through the metaphor of the dawn of a new day (*the day of prosperity arrives for you*). Yet the reference to a prior *night of adversity* acknowledges the reality of a period of darkness as a prerequisite for renewal, and indeed as its very enactment. The mention of the *night of adversity* is an integral part of this paean of praise and hope addressed to the *glory of the Venetians*. By giving the Peace a meaning that reaches beyond its historical frame of reference, this quasi-prayer testifies to the implicit and imminent actualization of the renewal it promises, embodied in this commemoration, in the city's political future. In the context of the account of the Peace that follows this passage, the *magnificence of the supreme king* may refer either to the episode in the Peace where the Pope invests the doge with the white *cereus* (taper) as a sign of his loyalty (Bovi, pp. 382–83), or to the symbolic role of Venice as host alluded to in the miniature. The double allusion makes the event of the Peace merely an earthly correlative and actualization of God's favour to Venice, and lays bare the process by which the text, combined with its interpretation in the manuscript, becomes a means of renewal. Venice is renewed, not in a

⁴⁴ Bonincontro dei Bovi, p. 403.



5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 587 (Venice, c. 1330).

(a) Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, fol. 1r and



(b) Bonincontro dei Bovi, *Historia de discordia et persecutione, quam habuit ecclesia cum imperatore Frederico Barbarossa, tempore Alexandri tertii, summi pontificis et demum de pace facta Venetiis et habita inter eos*, fol. 59r (detail).

celebration of the expansion of geographical limits through conquest, but in this act of moving beyond the spatial and temporal roots of the city (as *urbs* and *civitas*), to an Augustinian vision of the city as metaphor.

The miniatures of Laud. Misc. 587 provide an interpretative gloss for the texts they illustrate which, like Canal's chronicle, glorifies the Fourth Crusade and the Peace of Venice as an exemplification and celebration of order, and a result of loyalty. The theological framework provided by the beginning of Bovi's text sheds light on the participatory act of imitation that stands behind, and is a prerequisite for, the realization of renewal. Indeed, renewal only exists as such in the act of becoming; when fixed it betrays itself. As we will see next, Canal's presentation of St Mark also elucidates the process by which renewal is enacted.

From architecture and liturgy to faith: San Marco/Saint Mark and renewal as process

My account of renewal so far in this chapter has focused on the texts' commemoration of a Venice of the recent past, and its dealings with Byzantium, as a model for renewal. Now I look at Canal's *Estoire*, shifting the emphasis away from the Venetian community, as object of *aemulatio* and means for renewal, to the process by which renewal is achieved. Architecture and liturgy play vital roles in commemorating and making present the life of St Mark. In particular, Canal's representation of the basilica of San Marco is a mediator and realization of renewal. The Venetian community's potential for renewal lies precisely in the failure revealed through the process of its realization.

One of the principal ways in which Canal makes present the life of the saint is through his references to the basilica of San Marco. The first basilica was begun after the *translatio* of the body of St Mark to Venice from 828 to 829. Modelled on the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, it was finished in 836 and dedicated to St Mark as the missionary of the northern Adriatic. Until the eleventh century it served as a private chapel and belonged to the doge who was the patron of the church and the guardian of its relics. Probably in imitation of the throne of the Byzantine emperor in Saint Sophia, the doge's throne was placed on the right-hand side of the presbytery. Moreover, the programme of mosaics was influenced by the wishes of the doge and clergy: hence the oldest and most prominent saints depicted are those closely connected with the Venetian church. The basilica was rebuilt for the second time under Doge Domenico Contarini (1042–71) and completed under Vitale Falier (1084–96). In 1105 the high altar received the famous altar table known as the *Pala d'Oro* commissioned in Constantinople by Doge Ordelafo Falier (1101–18), and made by Byzantine craftsmen. The central importance of St Mark, and his relationship with the doge of Venice, was also apparent

in other ways. By the time of Doge Pietro Polani (1130–48), Venetian coins portrayed the saint as a figure in the political chain of command, the doge being his earthly delegate. At the end of the twelfth century coins depicted the saint giving a banner to Doge Enrico Dandolo (1192–1205), imitating Byzantine coins showing Christ crowning the emperor.

During the thirteenth century the basilica of San Marco became a focal point for a programme of architectural *renovatio* through Byzantium, which underpinned and legitimized the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The basilica's rise to a symbol of the state's power required a programme of decoration suited to its role. Work on the piazza and the basilica began under Doge Sebastiano Ziani, but both were considerably enriched in the time of Renier Zeno, following the impetus of the Fourth Crusade. The capture of Constantinople in 1204 had a significant effect on the political ideology of Venice, and the architecture of San Marco came to reflect the city's new prestige. The Venetians were more familiar with Byzantine saints and martyrologies than were the French crusaders; moreover, they tended to be more discerning in what they looted, and were more likely to be able to read Greek inscriptions. As a result of the Fourth Crusade, the interior of the basilica was enriched with single figures and scenic representations; among the booty were raw materials such as columns, marble plaques, porphyry and mosaic material as well as finished works. The crusade also allowed the project to be financed, and may have led to an influx of mosaic workers from Byzantium, and illuminated manuscripts for use as model-books. The acquisition over ensuing years of bodies of Byzantine saints from Constantinople provided further incentive for adding to the mosaics. It is probable that many Byzantine artefacts did not arrive in Venice until later on in the century, shortly before 1261, as is suggested by evidence about the veneration of Byzantine, Oriental and Old Testament saints in Venice. Under Renier Zeno the *Pala d'Oro* altarpiece was enriched with precious stones and enamel from churches in Constantinople, and the four gilded bronze horses, brought back in 1204 by Enrico Dandolo but hitherto stored in the Arsenal, were placed on the newly built *loggia* above the basilica's entrance. The use of early Byzantine techniques, materials and motifs of mosaic decoration was matched by the presence of elements indigenous to Venice. Moreover, the transfer of objects allowed Venice to present itself as the heir to, and even as superior to, Byzantium.⁴⁵

The centrepiece of this ideological elaboration of San Marco as the identification and personification of the Venetian community was the legend of St Mark. The legend included the *translatio*, or translation of the relics of the saint from Alexandria to Venice, which made the saint's body a symbol of

⁴⁵ Demus, *Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 1–6, 13–14, 86–87, 95–96, 196–201; Nicol, pp. 51–52, 65, 182–86; Brown, pp. 11–14, 16–21; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 264–71; Belting, pp. 195–203; Pertusi, 'Cultura bizantina', p. 332; Demus, 'Oriente e Occidente', pp. 111–14; Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito', pp. 452–61.

the city of Venice; the *apparitio*, or the miraculous rediscovery of the relics in San Marco in 1094; and the *praedestinatio*, the dream experienced by St Mark prophesying that his body would eventually rest in the place where San Marco was later to be built. Elaborated in the thirteenth century, the *praedestinatio* legend arose as an *ex post facto* justification for the *translatio*. Canal also organizes the legend into *praedestinatio*, *translatio* and *apparitio*. His narration of the *translatio* story is underpinned by references to the mosaics on the façade of San Marco portraying that event. In this way the chronicle mirrors the basilica's architecture.⁴⁶

On several occasions Canal guarantees a point he has made by asking his readers to come and see the city's monuments. At the beginning of part two, he states that he has translated into French the *euvres* (deeds) of the Venetians so that these deeds may be recorded for posterity (II.I.1–5).⁴⁷ He then proposes to tell us of the time of the current doge, Renier Zeno (II.I.7–10), thus aligning his own historiographical enterprise and the architecture of San Marco by their common goal of making present the truth about the past:

Escritures et peintures voient les gens a zeus, que quant l'en voit peinte une estoire ou l'en oit conter une bataille, ou de mer ou de terre, ou l'en lit en un livre ce que ont fait nos ancestre, si nos est avis que nos somes present ou les batailles sont faites. Et puisque par peintures et por oïr conter et por lire est la chose present, me sui ge entremis as euvres des Veneciens que il ont faites au servise de sainte Iglise et que por honor de sa noble cité.
(II.I.10–12)

People see writing and painting with their eyes, so that when one sees a tale painted or hears a battle recounted, whether on sea or on land, or when one reads in a book what our ancestors have done, it seems that we are present where the battles have been waged. And since through paintings and through hearing things recounted and through reading the event is present, I have undertaken to tell of the deeds of the Venetians which they have done in the service of holy Church and for the honour of their noble city.

Hearing or reading a story or viewing a painting is a substitute for being present at the event commemorated. San Marco can aptly embody and represent the Venetian community only because, like Canal's chronicle, it points beyond itself to the figured *estoire*. This makes the chronicle an architec-

⁴⁶ Limentani has pointed out that Canal's mention of the basilica suggests that we should view his elaboration of the legend of St Mark as analogous to that in the mosaics of San Marco. See Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. ccxc–ccxciii. For an Old French version of the life of St Mark, including the *praedestinatio*, see Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. cccxxiv–cccxxx. On the legend of St Mark, see also Canal, ed. Limentani, p. xxxviii; Brown, p. 24; Nicol, pp. 7–8, 24–25, 65; Demus, *Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 1–3.

⁴⁷ This recapitulates an earlier statement made in the prologue to part one (I.I.7–14).

tonic means for renewal, like the building behind it. Immediately preceding Canal's reflection on the mediatory role of artistic representation is a passage referring to the *translatio* story, already narrated in part one:

Li quels Venisiens aporterent de Alissandre en Venise et li firent si belle yglise, que, au tesmoigner des gens, il n'est ou siecle trois plus bele de cele de monseignor saint Marc, de cui ge vos ai fait mencion: et se aucun voudra savoir la verité de cele bele iglise, si la viegne veoir. (II.I.5–7)

The Venetians brought it from Alexandria to Venice and made for it such a beautiful church that, on the witness of the people, there are not three in the world more beautiful than that of Saint Mark, whom I have mentioned to you: and if anyone would like to know the truth about this beautiful church, may he come and see it.

The frequent exhortations to the reader either to see San Marco, or to ask the citizens of various cities for the truth about the battles in which Venice has participated, serve to guarantee the chronicle.⁴⁸ The exhortation to *viegne veoir* San Marco in this passage implies that the narrator is in Venice. Consequently, the reader is invited to come to Venice, but to go elsewhere, as in the command 'que il s'en aille veoir les euvres que sunt faites por les Veneciens' (II.I.16).⁴⁹ The word *euvre* in the chronicle refers exclusively to military deeds, and not to the work of constructing buildings. Yet a reference to the Venetians as builders of San Marco can be found later on in part one, suggesting that the basilica may serve to guarantee Canal's narrative as much as do the Venetians' deeds in battle: 'cele bele iglise meesme que les Veneciens firent et feront a tosors mes' (II.LXXIX.10).⁵⁰

This parallel between text and architecture has implications for our understanding of Canal's exploitation of the *translatio* legend (I.X–I.XII). When the body of the saint arrives in Venice, the basilica of San Marco, the piety of the Venetians, the mosaics recounting the translation of the relic, and the fact that the church belongs to the doge combine to make architecture an eminently present confirmation not only of the truth of retrospective narrative but of its meaning and significance for present-day Venetian politics:

Tant s'en vint cele nef de jor en jor, que ele conduist le beneoit cors de monseignor saint Marc en Venise; et fu si bien receüs, con il apert a sa bele yglise et a sa bele place et a la devocion que les Venesiens ont en lui: que maintenant que il fu venus en Venise, mistrent il lor espoir en lui et li donerent la segnorie de Venise et porterent de lors en avant la beneoite

⁴⁸ For references to eyewitnesses as a means of guaranteeing the truth of the chronicle, see II.I.15–16, II.VI.15, II.XVI.8, II.XIX.4, II.XXXIII.11, II.LIV.4, II.LIX.3–4, II.LXXVI.10.

⁴⁹ 'that he may go and see the deeds that have been done by the Venetians'.

⁵⁰ 'that beautiful church that the Venetians built and will for ever enrich'.

figure dou precios Evangeliste; [...] si font li Venesiens chascun an en cel jor bele feste et henoree de monseignor saint Marc. Et se aucun vodra savoir la verité tot ensi con je le vos ai conté, veigne veoir la bele yglise de monsignor saint Marc en Venise et regarde tres devant la bele yglise, que est escrit tote ceste estoire tot enci con je la vos ai contee [...]; et est cele bele yglise a monseignor li Dus. (I.XII.3–8)

So far came this ship from day to day, that it led the blessed body of Saint Mark to Venice; and it was so well received there, as appears from its beautiful church and its beautiful square and from the devotion that the Venetians have for it: now that it had come to Venice, they put their hope in it and gave it the lordship over Venice and carried from then onwards the blessed figure of the precious Evangelist; [...] thus do the Venetians celebrate each year on this day the beautiful and honoured feast of Saint Mark. And if anyone would like to know the truth just as I have recounted it to you, may he come and see the beautiful church of San Marco in Venice and look at the front of the beautiful church, where all this story is written just as I have related it to you [...]; and this beautiful church belongs to the Doge.

Architecture, liturgy, piety and politics bear witness to the *translatio* narrative as re-presented by Canal, but it is the figuration of the *estoire* on the basilica's façade, especially, which acts as mediator, gesturing back towards the *translatio* narrative and making it present for the contemporary Venetians. The mosaics in the lunettes of the façade portals portray the *translatio* of the relics of St Mark. Only one original thirteenth-century panel survives, over the Porta di sant'Alipio, depicting the *collocatio* or translation of the body into San Marco. It is likely to have been completed around the time that Canal was writing. Otto Demus has drawn attention to the 'twofold historicity' of this mosaic (p. 186). By this he means that the pictorial moment depicted is neither that of the *translatio* nor that of the mosaic's fabrication, but both at once. It portrays the basilica not as it was at the time of the *translatio* in 828 to 829, but as it was when the mosaic was made. Moreover, several features allow us to identify the doge as Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–75). He holds the *promissio*, the document detailing duties, on which the newly elected doge had to swear an oath, suggesting that the moment portrayed is that immediately after the presentation and investiture of a newly elected doge.⁵¹ Canal's chronicle is a textual equivalent of this double chronological referent because, like the mosaic, it makes links between the distant narrated past of the *translatio* and the architectural presence of the basilica of San Marco.

Aside from his elaboration of the legend of St Mark, there are other ways in which Canal uses architecture as a blueprint for renewal centred on the

⁵¹ Demus, *Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 6, 183–87; Canal, ed. Limentani, p. ccxcii.

figure of the doge. One example is the election of Renier Zeno in 1253. The tournament arranged to celebrate his accession sparks off a description of the piazza di San Marco (I.CXXXI.2–I.CXXXII.4). The description begins with the basilica to the east of the piazza, moves on to the Doge's Palace next to it and the buildings on the other side, and then notes that on the south side the piazza is bordered by water. To the west are the bell-tower, hospital, *procurators*,⁵² other buildings, and a church; finally, we move back to the basilica. The appellation *de monseignor saint Marc* used to describe the buildings surrounding the piazza, repeated six times in all, intensifies our awareness of St Mark's presence in the city; this parallels the presence of the doge, since the Doge's Palace is twice characterized as *de monseignor li dus*.⁵³ The doge's role in the tournament is further underlined when he takes up a prominent position at the *poies* of San Marco: that is, on the terrace known as the *loggia dei cavalli*.⁵⁴ Another example is the burial of the various doges in the *Freres prescheors*, the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo; when Lorenzo Tiepolo is buried there in 1275 (II.CLXXIX.5–7), we are reminded that his father Giacomo was buried in the same church in 1249 (I.CXXVIII.2–3).⁵⁵

However, when Canal narrates the *apparitio* story, he approaches the saint through liturgy rather than architecture. He introduces it by describing the June festival of St Mark (II.LIX.10–11), and follows this mention of the festival with a transition to the *apparitio* legend: 'Et sachés que cele feste font les Veneciens por une bele miracle que il virent jadis, que monsignor saint Marc fist voiant iaus; et si vos dirai coment' (II.LIX.11).⁵⁶ He then recalls the *translatio* to Venice, the subsequent loss of the relics and efforts to find them. The patriarch makes everyone fast for three days and then organizes a procession, during which a stone falls out of a column in San Marco behind which the body can be seen. Finally, Canal informs us that Renier Zeno 'renovella cele honorable feste' (II.LX.6). The verb *renoveler* can mean 'recall', 'repeat' and 'report', as well as 'renew' or 'revive': the doge's revival of the feast commemorating the *apparitio* is matched by Canal's reporting of the legend in his narrative, which is also a renewal.⁵⁷ Thus Canal's allusion to present-day liturgy and the support lent to it by the doge turns the retrospective narrative of the *apparitio* into a means for renewal. The legend of the

⁵² See Canal, ed. Limentani, p. 390.

⁵³ Canal regularly uses the term *monseigneur* before persons of authority. See Canal, ed. Limentani, p. clxvii.

⁵⁴ See note 45 above.

⁵⁵ Renier Zeno is also buried there (1268). See II.CVII.3–4; Canal, ed. Limentani, p. 413.

⁵⁶ 'And know that the Venetians instituted this festival on account of a beautiful miracle that they saw a long time ago, which Saint Mark did in front of their eyes; and I will tell you how.'

⁵⁷ Tobler-Lommatzsch, VIII (1971), 834–36.

apparitio was portrayed in a mosaic on the west wall of the south transept of San Marco dating from the 1250s. Although it portrays the moment of the *apparitio* in the eleventh century, it represents the interior of the basilica as containing two pulpits taken from Constantinople after 1204; moreover, the doge is probably Renier Zeno (1253–68).⁵⁸ By combining the time of the *apparitio* and that of the present day in a similar way to this mosaic, Canal's account also expresses the politics of Venetian renewal.

Canal's other references to liturgy likewise stress its commemorative function. His description of a year's feasts in Venice's liturgical calendar presents us with a portrait of a community focused on the figures of the doge and St Mark (II.LXXXVII–II.CI). The exposition is mainly chronological, beginning with Easter Sunday and finishing on Holy Saturday. The precedence he gives to the feasts of St Mark is explained by his desire to honour the saint as second only to Christ and the Virgin (II.XCIX.7). He describes very briefly the first three feasts of St Mark, those in April, June (the *apparitio* of II.LIX–LX) and October (II.XC), devoting more space to the feast of the *translatio* on 31 January (II.XCII.1).⁵⁹ Both on the vigil and on the feast-day itself, two processions arrive successively at the piazza, proclaim the *laudes* to the doge, and walk from there to the church of Santa Maria Formosa. The first procession carries a cleric dressed as the Virgin, and the second carries another dressed as an angel. When both processions are in the church, the two recite the Annunciation scene from Luke 1 (II.XCV). This theatrical use of liturgy tends to emphasize the theophany of the community of Venice.

Throughout the description the emphasis is on the participation of the doge. On Easter Sunday, he is the focal point of the procession from the Palace to San Marco; three chaplains mount the *cancels*, the steps leading up to the presbytery, and recite the *laudes* or ruler acclamations (*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*), which Canal ineptly translates from the Latin as 'Christe vince, Criste regne, Criste inpere' (II.LXXXVII.18).⁶⁰ On Ascension Day we hear of the *Spozalizio del Mar*, when the doge throws a golden ring into the lagoon (II.LXXXIX). Moreover, on Ascension Day, Christmas Day and the feast of 'nostre dame sainte Marie' (II.XCII.1–2),⁶¹ the doge hears vespers at San Zaccaria, San Giorgio and Santa Maria

⁵⁸ Demus, *Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 108–10.

⁵⁹ Canal does not give precise dates in the case of the first three feasts. Limentani gives two extracts from the *Caerimoniale rituum sacrorum ecclesiae sancti Marci Venetiarum*, detailing the sixteenth-century ceremony for Easter Sunday. See Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. ccxxviii–ccxxiii; Fasoli, 'Liturgia', p. 277.

⁶⁰ 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands.'

⁶¹ The feast of the Virgin may be Candlemas (2 February), but another possibility is the Annunciation (25 March). Limentani notes the theatrical nature of the staging of the dialogue between Mary and the angel, but does not identify the occasion; however, he reports one critic's view that Canal is referring to the antiphon *Benedicamus Dominum* for 25 March. See Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. cclxxxix–ccxc.

Formosa respectively; while on Good Friday it is his duty to expose the relics of Christ's blood and the True Cross in San Marco for veneration (II. CI). This emphasis on the doge's role is underpinned by the position of this liturgical account in the chronicle. It prefaces the election of Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1268, and was written between the beginning of 1268 and the death of Renier Zeno in June of the same year. The *laudes* also mention that the doge is 'dominator quarte part et demi de trestot l'empire de Romanie' (II. LXXXVII.18), highlighting his status as ruler of the Venetian part of Byzantium.⁶² This exaltation of the doge's ceremonial role embodies and exemplifies the significance of East–West relations as a means of civic renewal. In the context of Canal's interpretation of the Fourth Crusade, we may read his use of architecture and liturgy as an expression of a barely acknowledged dependence on Byzantium, a way of showing not so much that the East belongs to Venice, but that Venice belongs to the East. As Demus puts it, 'Dal punto di vista della storia dell'arte si potrebbe dire che non fu Costantinopoli ad essere conquistata da Venezia, ma Venezia da Bisanzio.'⁶³

In Canal's chronicle we see the commemorative function of narrative as a means of renewal, whether commemoration is achieved through architecture, liturgy or the reinvention of recent historical events. But there is another type of renewal in the text: Canal's prayer to St Mark is a personal enactment of renewal as process. It takes the form of a poem containing twelve monorhymed quatrains (II.CLXIX), which summarizes the legend of St Mark, dividing it into *praedestinatio* and *translatio*. This brief biography of St Mark before and after death is addressed to the saint himself, and concludes with a prayer of petition. The first two stanzas recall Mark's missionary journey and the *praedestinatio* legend. The third stanza explains the device of the lion of St Mark on the doge's banner, a symbol of Venice's reputation, since 'jusque ou eive cort en est la mencion' (v. 12).⁶⁴ The fourth and fifth stanzas trace the biography of the saint before death, beginning with St Peter sending him from Rome to Alexandria. Stanzas 6 to 9 follow events after the saint's death, narrating the *translatio* of his body to Venice and concluding with the

⁶² '[...] ruler of three-eighths of all the empire of Romania'. Canal, ed. Limentani, p. lvi. For Byzantine influence on Venetian ducal ceremony and ideology, see Fasoli, 'Liturgia', pp. 276, 291–93; Fasoli, 'La *Cronique des Veniciens*', pp. 72–73.

⁶³ 'From an art-historical point of view, it could be said that it was not Constantinople that was conquered by Venice, but Venice that was conquered by Byzantium.' Demus, 'Oriente e Occidente', p. 115.

⁶⁴ '[...] wherever water flows there is mention of it'. The verb *core* is used in three main contexts in the chronicle: it describes news or merchandise arriving in Venice or Venetian communities abroad; denotes prominent Venetians' reputation; and describes the movement of water. For the first use, see I.XXVII.3, I.LXXI.2; for the second, see II.III.6, II.CLXXIX.3; for the third, see II.LII.5, II.CLII.2. For a comparison of the abundance of trade with the movement of water, see I.II.2; for the use of the verb to describe the universal status of the French language, see I.I.5. See also Folena, *Culture e lingue*, p. 389.

collocatio in San Marco. In the narration of both *praedestinatio* and *translatio*, San Marco is characterised as a ‘maison’ and as the ‘propre leu’ of the saint (vv. 4, 7, 23, 36).⁶⁵

This summary of the benefits bestowed on Venice by St Mark acts as a prelude to, and support for, Canal’s petition to the saint in the last three stanzas of the poem.⁶⁶ In these last stanzas, Canal hints at the presence of civil unrest within the city, which distinguishes the poem from the text’s earlier presentation of Venice as ordered and harmonious.⁶⁷ It is this hint of discord that lends urgency to the plea for the saint’s prayers and help for Venice:

X: Ensi con ce fu voir et nos bien le creon:
 Aidés les Veneciens et faites orison
 A nostre sire Dieu, en cui nos bien creon,
 E a sa douce Mere, que Dieu nos fait pardon
 XI: E manteigne Venise sans nule discorde!
 Pes, bone volenté, sans tirer male corde,
 Soit en Venise, biau sire, por misericorde!,
 Con firent lor ancestres que cestui livre recorde,
 XII: Que maint biau servise firent a saint Iglise
 A Jerusalem, a Sur, a Quaifas, con cest livre devise. (vv. 37–46)

X: Since this was true and we well believe it: help the Venetians
 and pray to our lord God, in whom we well believe, and to his
 sweet Mother, that God may forgive us
 XI: And keep Venice without any discord! May peace and good
 will, without turning to evil, be in Venice, good sire, for mercy’s
 sake!, as their ancestors had whom this book commemorates,
 XII: Who did many a good service to holy Church, in Jerusalem,
 in Tyre, in Jaffa, just as this book recounts.

Like the rest of the chronicle, the poem bears witness to a hope for renewal to be achieved through imitation of past events. Yet it also lays bare the process by which that renewal is achieved, and thereby moves one stage further than the commemorative tenor of Canal’s prose narrative. The prayer of petition to the saint in the present tense, with which the poem ends, constitutes an excursus into liturgical time that forms a break with the political narrative and distinguishes the act of praying – the narrator’s poetic voice – from the (prosaic) events that *cestui livre recorde*.⁶⁸ It is the desire to perpetuate the promise of those events, and not the satisfaction of imitation achieved, that makes nar-

⁶⁵ See Canal, ed. Limentani, pp. ccxciii–ccc (p. ccxcv); Farmer, p. 332.

⁶⁶ Canal, ed. Limentani, p. ccxciii.

⁶⁷ Cracco, p. 64.

⁶⁸ I think it is significant that the praying first-person plural narrator here (representing Canal, and by extension the Venetian community) is distinct from the third-person

rative give way to prayer. At the same time, by lending a personal dimension to the text's architectural and liturgical celebration of civic loyalty, the prayer reveals the full purpose of that celebration and transforms commemoration into renewal. It is Canal's reading and understanding of the history of Venice, and its organization and presentation in the *livre*, which provides the basis for his personal encounter with St Mark, and gives him the *exempla* he needs in order to be able to communicate effectively with the saint.⁶⁹

On the subject of the Venetian debt to Byzantine civilization, Agostino Pertusi has remarked: 'Malgrado le ambizioni di dominazione mondiale, Venezia non poteva facilmente dimenticare quanto essa doveva alla civiltà di Bisanzio e che era ad essa legata quasi di un cordone ombelicale.'⁷⁰ To borrow the umbilical metaphor, Canal's centripetal view of Venice may be viewed as a tacit attempt to cut the ties of dependence from Byzantium. The chronicle's descriptions of Venetian liturgy, ducal ceremony and architecture evoke the past as a model for the *renovatio* of the present, but it is the prayer to St Mark that fulfils the potential for renewal vested in civic liturgy and celebration.⁷¹

Both Canal's *Estoire de Venise* and Bodleian Laud. Misc. 587 chart the negotiation of a close relationship with Greek-ruled Byzantium and with the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The texts operate a politics of memory that looks to Venice's recent past for viable models of social and political harmony. Their narration and celebration of the Fourth Crusade and the Peace of Venice lays particular stress on the role of civic loyalty and loyalty to the papacy in the constitution of the community as a model for *renovatio*. The texts' representation of the history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople fulfils a specific aspirational role in the political present.

The distortion of history for political ends embodied in both chronicle and manuscript contrasts with the radically different tenor of Clari's chronicle which we examined in Chapter 4, and which showed the historical frustration of the desire for renewal. The theme of renewal, like that of utopia, transcends questions of genre. In Canal's chronicle, its process is revealed most clearly in the prayer, the form of which is borrowed from fictional genres. The quasi-prayer at the beginning of Bovi's text fulfils a similar role.

references to the *livre*. See Marnette, 'The Experiencing Self and the Narrating Self', pp. 118–20.

⁶⁹ On the relationship between medieval reading practices, meditation and prayer, see Huot, 'Inventional Mnemonics'; *ibid.*, 'A Book Made for a Queen', pp. 124–32.

⁷⁰ 'Despite its ambitions of world domination, Venice was not easily able to forget how much it owed to Byzantine civilization, and that it was linked to it as if by an umbilical cord.' Pertusi, 'Le profezie sulla presa di Costantinopoli', p. 46.

⁷¹ For a brief account of the historical reality of thirteenth-century Venice and Canal's motives for writing, rooted in the desire to present Venice as an ordered community with claims in the Latin East, see Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, trans. Morreale, pp. vii–xvii.

Moreover, both texts not only demonstrate how renewal is achieved through the commemoration of recent political events, but also shift the emphasis to the problems attendant upon contemporary imitation of the model they propose. Thus the end of Bonincontro dei Bovi's account of the Peace alludes to the passing of recent strife. Similarly, Canal's representation of San Marco elaborates the architectural and liturgical means through which renewal is realized, while his prayer to St Mark introduces a personal response to the vicissitudes experienced by the Venetian community, and thereby lays bare the very process of renewal.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the West's literary representation of its relationship with Constantinople provided one means of enacting the debate between renewal and utopia, a debate which served different roles in different contexts and can also contribute to our understanding of the texts' generic status.

First of all, we can conclude that the relationship between the West and Constantinople in medieval texts enacts a debate on the idea of the city as renewal and as utopia. The texts in Part I, Gautier d'Arras's *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, exemplify a tension between the perception of the city as a means for renewal (as model or ally) and as utopia. In *Eracle*, Constantinople is a focus for *aemulatio*, but Western *translatio* and *renovatio* remain merely implicit. The texts in Part II – *Girart de Roussillon*, *Partonopeus de Blois*, Robert de Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople* and the Franco-Italian *Macario* – shed light on the complex implications of desiring the city by pointing out the degree of conflation and confusion that exists between *aemulatio* and *admiratio*, and between renewal and utopia. In the first two of these texts, the complex interaction between these concepts is a function of the texts' preoccupation with an explicit relationship between Byzantium and the West in the intra-diegetic context. In the last two texts, the emphasis lies on the hope of transforming not only *aemulatio*, but also *admiratio*, into a means for renewal. The status of the utopia as a potential model in these texts again exemplifies the at times barely discernible frontier between renewal and utopia.

In Parts I and II, Western renewal is achieved through the presentation of Constantinople either as a model to be imitated or as a desirable ally. All of the texts in the first two parts, with the exception of *Eracle*, also represent Constantinople as a utopia. In the twelfth-century texts examined in Chapters 2 and 3, the utopia serves temporarily to highlight, mirror and compensate for the failings of the West. Yet it is also perceived as threatening, and is associated with imperial artifice, or with material and architectural features such as automata. Moreover, in the texts where it occupies a significant role in the narrative (that is, in all except *Girart*) the utopia is ultimately destroyed by a superior West, and may be complicit in its own downfall. In the Chapter 4 texts, both of which date from the thirteenth century, the utopia is slightly different in character. In Clari, it appears as benign rather than threatening, and its fall is a cause for lament. In *Macario*, its fall, being occasioned by

the West's admission of inferiority, paves the way for renewal. The positive implications of the cultural difference vested in Constantinople as utopia seem to be more clearly perceptible in these later texts.

In the texts of Part 3, dating from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, renewal is achieved in a different way from Parts I and II, namely, through an effort towards freedom from Byzantium as a model. Whereas *Marques de Rome* and the two Rutebeuf poems exploit the theme of *translatio* in order to question the location and enactment of renewal, Martino da Canal's *Estoire de Venise* and the Venetian manuscript of Villehardouin make *renovatio* depend upon conquest.

The texts have been presented in roughly chronological order. Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess the influence of historical period on the literary presentation of East–West relations, and in any case such has not been the primary purpose of this study. Much research could still be done on the representation of Constantinople in these texts in relation to issues of Western socio-political identity and self-definition. However, some general conclusions are inescapable. It would seem that, while the twelfth century looked to Byzantium as a focus for *aemulatio*, the thirteenth century had a greater tendency to stress the *renovatio* of the West in its presentation of East–West relations. Thus the emphasis on *aemulatio* and *admiratio* of Byzantium in the texts studied in Parts I and II would point to a perceived lack of access to Byzantine culture in the West. Similarly, it would be possible to link the emphasis on *renovatio* in the Part III texts to a well-documented increase in knowledge of and direct access to Byzantine language, literature and culture.¹ However, it would be necessary to investigate further the relationship between these texts and the socio-cultural contexts in which they were produced in order to be able to assess the full significance of their representation of the West's relationship with Constantinople. I would tentatively suggest that it would be a mistake to see the latter as exemplifying generalized changes in historical attitudes to Byzantium. The foregrounding of the themes of renunciation and conquest in the Part III texts may not only reflect a change in political circumstances in the wake of the events of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but also mirror a broader change in intellectual and philosophical outlook.

Some conclusions can be drawn about the historical periodization of the texts I have analysed. The thirteenth century was a time when many of the mentalities of the twelfth century were being challenged. Historical events such as the crusaders' sack of Constantinople and establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204, the Albigensian Crusade of 1209–29, Philip Augustus's victory over the Angevin-French forces at the battle of Bouvines (1214) and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) heralded an era marked by totalization

¹ Seidel, pp. 111–19.

and the regularization of both internal and external others. Before that era, notions of difference were less fixed, as we have seen in the twelfth-century texts I have studied in this book.²

I have sought to demonstrate that intergeneric analysis can fruitfully shed light on the idea of the city in medieval texts. Themes shared by texts of different genres include the use of architecture, liturgy, crusade, marriage alliance, and kingly and imperial power and authority. The chronicles pose a particular problem for the identification of a debate between renewal and utopia. Renewal is a process of reacting to a commemorative model, but historical narrative tends to privilege commemoration for its own sake, as part of an open-ended and inconclusive series of moments.³ Thus Canal's prose aims at objectivity, and only the poem addressed to St Mark looks at renewal as process. In Clari, it is the (utopian) description of Constantinople, rather than the narration of the conquest, that gives us the best glimpse of a personal encounter with the city.

The debate is at its clearest in fiction, which plays an aspirational role. The process of renewal is underpinned by the concerns of the dominant genre to which the text belongs.⁴ In *Girart* and *Macario*, Constantinople is a means of monarchic renewal, since it heals the rift between the king and his barons. It thereby provides narrative closure in the form of a solution to the problem with which the *chanson de geste* is preoccupied. In the twelfth-century romances, *Eracle* and *Partonopeus*, the knight's accession to the Byzantine throne (renewal) also provides closure, affirms the knight's exemplary role and annuls the conflict between knight and king. The subordination of Constantinople, as an emblem of chivalry and crusading fervour, to the West in *Marques* and *Rutebeuf* affirms their preoccupation with the extent to which Western *renovatio* is, or should be, dependent upon Byzantium. Such subordination could also be viewed as a generic prop to the status of these texts as didactic romance and political satire. The extent to which the texts parody and/or challenge traditional generic categories is often revealed through Constantinople, either as a utopia (*Pèlerinage*, *Partonopeus*), or as a means of renewal that is viewed as posing a challenge to Western monarchic structures as they are represented in the particular text (*Girart*, *Marques*, *Rutebeuf*).⁵ Indeed, we could go as far as to say, with Vita Fortunati, that utopia is a distinct literary genre in itself, on whose topoi and tropes the different texts in my corpus draw: description, the aspiration towards the

² Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries*, pp. 1–2, 5, 135–38.

³ See Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, pp. 187–94, 200.

⁴ For the notion of the dominant, see Chapter 1, p. 34.

⁵ See Huot, 'Political Implications', for a discussion of the use of lyric allusion to figure the threat to Occitan cultural heritage. I have found this article useful in elaborating the conclusions reached in this paragraph.

ideal, the mythical constant of the journey. And as a genre it interacts continuously with other literary genres.⁶

Utopia and renewal are extreme intellectual positions that cannot be clearly mapped onto any given feature of Constantinople in the texts. As I have demonstrated, each of these extremes encompasses a range of attitudes.⁷ We can consider the implications of this slippage by returning to the work of Greenblatt and Levinas on the conceptualization of otherness, to which I referred in the Introduction. Greenblatt seeks to transform wonder (my *admiratio*) into a positive experience by implying that in it lies the potential for the renewal of home, not through compensation but through a process of self-estrangement and self-recognition, which happens in the encounter with the foreign: ‘This is the utopian moment of travel: when you realize that what seems most unattainably marvelous, most desirable, is what you almost already have, what you could have – if you could only strip away the banality and corruption of the everyday – at home’ (p. 25). This resembles the Levinassian idea of an ethical and hermeneutic encounter with the Other that sheds light on the limitations of the Same, challenges it, and gestures towards a recognition of the absolute dependence of the Same on the Other. My identification and analysis of a debate between *admiratio* and *aemulatio* has certain affinities with this radically positive interpretation of the encounter with otherness. However, the West’s self-limitation, engendered by its interaction with Constantinople as utopia, may also appear as negative and threatening, and ‘giving the Other a voice’ become merely a temporary stage.⁸ Similarly, my study has emphasized the positive and productive nature of renewal as a process of becoming. Yet the desire for *renovatio* often brings with it the destruction of the utopia or is itself imbricated in the desire for conquest of Byzantium.⁹ The dialectical opposition of renewal and utopia evinced in my title develops and becomes more complex, since none of the numerous positions that it offers is stable or can be maintained for long.

As I noted in Chapter 1 in my discussion of the passage from Italo Calvino’s *Le città invisibili*, there is a specular relationship between the text’s intra-diegetic Western protagonists and their dealings with Constantinople on the one hand, and the extra-diegetic distortion and mirroring that the

⁶ Fortunati, ‘Utopia as a Literary Genre’, pp. 637–38.

⁷ The terms have deliberately avoided attempting to categorize the city as either positive or negative. Both renewal and utopia are inherently ambiguous in this respect. But if we were to draw any conclusions about the positive or negative value of Constantinople in medieval French texts, I would hazard the conclusion that the *urbs* is often seen as positive and the *civitas* negative. See Macrides, p. 197.

⁸ Davis, pp. 48–62, 142–44 (p. 144).

⁹ This confirms Greenblatt’s observations on the move from wonder to possession (pp. 9–10). The relationship between authority, fear and the persecution of various groups within medieval society has been analysed in depth by Moore in *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*.

Western-authored texts bring to their representation of the city on the other. But there is a further specularity between this extra-diegetic mirroring of the Other (which we have seen most clearly in the texts' relationship with their historical context and their generic status) and the distortions brought about by the concerns of contemporary medievalism. And as Lynn Tarte Ramey has noted, 'the study of medieval French literature has been linked from its inception in the late-nineteenth century to nation formation and identity'. Moreover, the very expression of Latin Christendom as an artefact of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is a (not wholly uncontroversial) recent critical phenomenon.¹⁰ The relationship between medievalism and Orientalism was articulated recently by John M. Ganim:

The idea of the Middle Ages as a pure Europe (or England or France or Germany) both rests on and reacts to an uncomfortable sense of instability about origins, about what the West is and where it came from. The definition of medieval culture, especially literature and architecture, from its earliest formulation in the Renaissance through to the twentieth century has been a site of contest over the idea of the West, and by definition, that which is non-Western.[...] 'Another country' may be a construct of otherness, somewhere where we are not at home, which is to us, as it were, *unheimlich*. But it also may be, as Edward Said's *Orientalism* suggests, an imagined emptiness on to which we may project our desires and fears.¹¹

The allusion to L. P. Hartley's famous opening to *The Go-Between*, 'the past is another country', crystallizes the debate on renewal and utopia, and its relevance for the study of genre and historical context, with which this book has been concerned. The terms renewal and utopia are indeed, as this study has demonstrated, useful for an analysis of East–West relations in medieval French texts. But on another level they belong firmly to the discourse of contemporary medievalism. The Other always escapes the process of projection and remains *unheimlich*. The texts remain complex, ambivalent and multi-layered. It is my hope that this study, far from restricting interpretation, has opened up new vistas and highlighted the historical significance and generic instability of the works which it has explicated. I finish with the words of Tina Beattie on the possibility of redemption that lies in the very fabric of the city (any city):

I offer it [the last chapter] as an elegy and a prayer for the city – that great symbol that encompasses the vision and the folly, the solidarity and the violence, of our shared humanity. Ultimately, the city is a work of redemption, wherein we transform the garden of creation into the history

¹⁰ Ramey, p. 1; Moore, 'The Transformation of Europe', pp. 77–78.

¹¹ Ganim, pp. 3–4. On the common ground of medieval and postcolonial scholars, see also Kabir and Williams, pp. 1–2.

and the culture of our human becoming. In the turmoil of our broken and frightened lives, may the city be for us a symbol of that eternal city, the New Jerusalem, where one day, peoples and faiths will come together to live forever in the justice and mercy of God – Yahweh, Allah, Trinity.¹²

¹² Beattie, p. xi.

APPENDIX 1

Original Latin Quotations

Chapter 1

Page 13

Aerea, sed deaurata, quaedam arbor ante imperatoris sedile stabat, cuius ramos itidem aerae diversi generis deaurataeque aves replebant, quae secundum species suas diversarum avium voces emittebant. Imperatoris vero solium huiusmodi erat arte compositum, ut in momento humile, exsilius modo, quam mox videretur sublime; quod immensae magnitudinis, incertum utrum aerie an lignei, verum auro tecti leones quasi custodiebant, qui cauda terram percutientes aperto ore linguisque mobilibus rugitum emittebant. [...] Cumque in adventu meo rugitum leones emitterent, aves secundum species suas perstreperent, nullo sum terrore, nulla admiratione commotus, quoniam quidem ex his omnibus eos qui bene noverant fueram percontatus. Tercio itaque pronus imperatorem adorans caput sustuli et, quem prius moderata mensura a terra elevatum sedere vidi, mox alius indutum vestibibus poenes domus laquear sedere prospexi; quod qualiter fieret cogitare non potui, nisi forte eo sit subvectus argalio, quo torcularium arbores subvehuntur. (Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, VI.5.66–77, p. 147)

Page 15

Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea. (John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, III.4.46–50, p. 116)

Pages 15–16

Homo mea actione nascitur, Dei auctoritate renascitur. Per me, a non esse vocatur ad esse; per ipsum, ad melius esse perducitur. Per me enim homo procreatur ad mortem, per ipsum recreatur ad vitam. (Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae*, col. 292)

Page 19

Desinat ergo vetus Troyani fabula belli | Et nova narrentur preclari gesta triumphii. (Gunther of Paris, 19, p. 163)

Page 21

Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur: | Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis. (Hammer, p. 54)

Page 21

Civitas est hominum multitudo societatis vinculo adunata, dicta a civibus, id est ab ipsis incolis urbis, nam urbs ista moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa sed habitatores vocantur. (Isidore of Seville, XV.2.1, col. 536)

Page 24

Pars enim quaedam terrena civitatis imago caelestis civitatis effecta est, non se significando, sed alteram, et ideo serviens. Non enim propter se ipsam, sed propter aliam significandam est instituta. [...] Invenimus ergo in terrena civitate duas formas, unam suam praesentiam demonstrantem, alteram caelesti civitati significandae sua praesentia servientem. Parit autem cives terrena civitatis peccata vitiata natura, caelestis vero civitatis cives parit a peccato naturam liberans gratia [...] ibi humanus usus ostenditur, hic divinum beneficium commendatur.

(Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XV.2.27–50; vol. 48, p. 455)

Page 24

Nos enim sumus Hierusalem [...], qui nobis videmur intuitum habere maiorem. (Origen, XXXVIII.3, p. 444)

Page 30

Illa dicuntur miracula, quando effectus patent, causae latent. Unde potest esse aliquod mirum apud quosdam minus scientes, quod non est apud sapientes, ut patet de eclipsi. (Thomas Aquinas, VII.2.668)

Chapter 2*Page 39*

Scimus enim quoniam si terrestris domus nostra huius habitationis dissolvatur quod aedificationem ex Deo habeamus domum non manufactam aeternam in caelis. (*Biblia Sacra*)

Page 50

Fecerat namque sibi turrim argenteam, in qua inter lucentibus gemmis thronum extruxerat aureum, ubi solis quadrigam et lune et stellarum imaginem collocaverat, atque per occultas fistulas aque meatus adduxerat, ut quasi deus pluviam desuper videretur infundere et, dum subterraneo specu equis in circuitu trahentibus circumacta turris fabrica moveri videbatur, quasi quodammodo rugitum tonitruum iuxta possibilitatem artificis mentiebatur.

(Faral, 'D'un *Passionnaire* latin', p. 522)

Chapter 3*Page 100*

Ordo bifurcat iter: tum limite nititur artis,
 Tum sequitur stratam naturae. [...]
 Civilior ordine recto
 Et longe prior est, quamvis praeposterus ordo.

(Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*, p. 200)

Chapter 5*Page 138*

Lectorem quoque et auditorem supplicatione pia convenio, quatenus apud Filium Virginis qui via, veritas est, et vita, pro me vano et misero intercedant, ut amotis ignorantiae tenebris, et vanitatis amore depulso, cognitionis suae lumen infundat, faciatque me officiosum veritatis inquisitorem, et amatorem pariter et cultorem. (John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, IV.42.55–60, p. 184)

Chapter 6*Page 160*

Fuit ergo letitia magna die illo in Veneciis, et super pace universe letabantur gentes, dicentes Venetis: ‘O quam beati estis, quia tanta pax apud vos potuit reformari; hoc quidem erit memoriale nominis vestri in eternum.’

Page 164

Historia de discordia et persecutione, quam habuit ecclesia cum imperatore Frederico Barbarossa, tempore Alexandri tertii, summi pontificis et demum de pace facta Venetiis et habita inter eos.

Page 164

Cum in libro conquistus imperii Romanie in parte precedenti sit scriptum et non sit completum usque ad amissionem civitatis Constantinopolitane ideo aliqua in scriptis ponam.

Page 169

Exurge, gloria Venetorum, converte plantum pontificis in gaudium, quoniam te circumdat leticie vestimentum. ecce enim nox adversitatis precessit et pro te dies prosperitatis accessit. Rex enim magnificus qui fecit mirabilia magna solus aperiens manum sue magnifice largitatis quam plurimum Venetos sua bonitate replevit. Letetur quoque et exultet urbs Veneta de magnificentia summi regis qui digne eam donis et honorificentis multipliciter decoravit.

APPENDIX 2

References to Constantinople in Other Epics and Romances¹

The selection of romances and epics referring to Constantinople listed below is necessarily, for reasons of space and time, limited to the better-known works of the French Middle Ages produced during the same period as the texts in my corpus. I have chosen not to list other texts in the Seven Sages cycle as these are not well known and have in any case been mentioned in passing in Chapter 5. However, I do mention Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès* below as it is justly famous and its treatment of Constantinople is complex and interesting. To give a flavour of the context in which the reference to Constantinople occurs, short extracts are quoted and translated. It is to be hoped that this Appendix will complement my study and spark off potential future research avenues in this area. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Romances

The following spelling variants are found: Constantinoble, Constantinople, Consten-, Coustan-, Cousten-, Costan-, Costentinoble, -tinnoble, Constantinenoble, Constantinopole, Contan-, Conten-, Coutentin(n)oble, Contanstinoble, Constenin.

'Amours', in *The Old French Lays of 'Iguare', 'Oiselet' and 'Amours'*, ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Leslie C. Brook, Gallica, 18 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), vv. 32–33: '[...] dusqu'en Consteninoble | N'ot plus haute dame de li.' ('As far as Constantinople there is no more noble lady than she.')

Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès: édition bilingue*, ed. and trans. L. Harf-Lancner, Champion Classiques Série 'Moyen Âge' (Paris: Champion, 2006), vv. 49, 125, 403, 2375, 2473, 2559, 2632, 4186, 4309, 5094, 5101, 6110, 6667, 6706, 6757; vv. 45–49: 'Crestiens comance son conte, | si con li livres

¹ In compiling this appendix I have consulted reference works by Flutre and Moisan. Texts listed are not cited in the Bibliography if they are not discussed elsewhere in the book. The main texts studied in this book are not listed here.

nos recontre, | qui trez fu d'un emperreor | puissant de richesce et d'enor, | qui tint Grece et Costantinoble.' ('Chrétien begins his tale, just as the book recounts, devoted to an emperor powerful in riches and land, who reigned over Greece and Constantinople.')

Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide: édition critique d'après le manuscrit B. N. fr. 1376*, ed. and trans. J.-M. Fritz, Livre de Poche 'Lettres Gothiques' (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992), vv. 97–98: 'S'ot cote d'un dÿapre noble | Qui fu faiz en Costantenoble' (and [dressed in] a tunic of noble, patterned silk | that had been made in Constantinople', Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, ed. and trans. C. W. Carroll, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series A, 25 (New York: Garland, 1987)).

'Li Contes dou roi Coustant l'Empereur', in *Édition critique des versions en vers et en prose de la légende de l'Empereur Constant, avec une étude linguistique et littéraire*, ed. J. Coveney, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 126 (Paris: Société d'Édition les Belles Lettres, 1955), pp. 159–93, ll. 1–3: 'Cis contes nos fait mention ki fu jadis emper[er]es de Bisanche, ki ore est apielee Coustantinoble, mais anciennement iert elle apiellé Bisanche.' ('This tale speaks of someone who used to be emperor of Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople, but in former times it was called Byzantium.')

The Continuations of the Old French 'Perceval' of Chrétien de Troyes, I: The First Continuation, ed. W. Roach (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), vv. 8671, 13224; vv. 8669–71: 'Car li vins respant lués et verse | Sor une roube qu'il ot perse | D'un chier drap de Costentinoble.' ('For immediately he spills and pours the wine over a piece of blue clothing made from an expensive cloth from Constantinople.')

The Continuations of the Old French 'Perceval' of Chrétien de Troyes, V: The Third Continuation by Manessier, ed. W. Roach (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1983), vv. 35172–76: 'Par ton conduit, par ton orgoil | Fu ocis lou meillor vasal | Qui onques montast sus cheval; | Le plus vaillant et le plus noble | Qui fust jusqu'an Costan]ti]noble.' ('By your behaviour and by your pride, the best vassal who ever rode a horse was killed, the noblest and most valiant as far as Constantinople.')

'Li Dis de l'empereur Coustant', in *Édition critique des versions en vers et en prose de la légende de l'Empereur Constant*, ed. Coveney, pp. 107–57, vv. 625–30: 'Pour çou que si nobles estoit, | Et que nobles oeuvres faisoit, | l'appielloient Coustant le noble: | Et pour çou ot Coustantinoble, | Li cytés de Bissance a non, | Qui encore est de grand regnon.' ('Because it was so noble and did noble deeds, they called it Constantinople: and that is how Constantinople, the city of Byzantium, got its name, which is still of great renown.')

'L'Estoire de Merlin', in *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, ed. H. O. Sommer (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution, 1908), pp. 131, 132, 160, 179, 181, 182, 183, 253, 255, 266, 300, 384, 385, 434, 439; p.

131: ‘Si manda [li rois brangoires] gent & saudoiers amont & aval tant quil en ot a grant plente. & cil rois brangoires ot a feme .j. moult gentil feme qui estoit fille audeans lempereor de constantinoble.’ (‘And King Brangoires sent people and soldiers up and down so that there were many of them and this King Brangoires had as a wife a very nice woman who was the daughter of Audeans the emperor of Constantinople.’)

Floriant et Florete, ed. H. F. Williams, *Language and Literature*, 23 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1947), vv. 2815, 2821, 2871, 3315, 4870, 6349, 6427, 6431, 7022, 8061, 8087, 8110; vv. 2813–15: ‘lors fait ses lettres saïeller, | l’empereor a fet mander, | Droitement en Constantinoble.’ (‘When he had sealed his lettres, the emperor had them sent straight to Constantinople.’)

Gerbert de Montreuil, *Continuation de Perceval*, ed. M. Williams, CFMA, 28, 30 (Paris: Champion, 1922–25); ed. M. Oswald, CFMA, 101 (Paris: Champion, 1975), vv. 338, 612; vv. 336–39: ‘Soz le chastel al mien pensé | Avoit vile que si tres noble | N’avoit dusqu’en Constantinoble, | Mieus aesie ne plus bele.’ (‘Below the castle, as I think, there was a most noble town; as far as Constantinople there was not a better situated or more beautiful one.’)

Gui de Warewic: roman de XIIIe siècle, ed. A. Ewert, CFMA, 74, 75, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1932–33), vv. 2897, 2905, 2931, 2948, 4193, 8610, 8974, 9333, 9395, 9399, 9874, 9876; vv. 2897–98: ‘De Costentinoble dreit venuns; | Terre de peis querant aluns.’ (‘We have come straight from Constantinople; we are seeking a land of peace.’)

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. A. Strubel, *Livre de Poche ‘Lettres Gothiques’* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992), vv. 20811–14: ‘Avoit dedenz .i. saintuaire | Couvert d’un precieus suaire | Le plus gentill et le plus noble | Qui fust jusqu’en costantinoble.’ (‘Inside there was a reliquary covered with a precious shroud, the noblest and most distinguished as far as Constantinople.’)

Guillaume de Palerne: roman du XIIIe siècle, ed. by A. Micha (Geneva: Droz, 1990), vv. 2615, 2634, 3593; vv. 2614–15, 2619: ‘L’empereor a cui apent | Toute Gresse et Constantinoble, [...] Si nos a ci tramis a toi.’ (‘The emperor to whom belongs the whole of Greece and Constantinople [...] has sent us to you here.’)

‘Lancelot’, in *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, III–V, ed. H. O. Sommer (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution, 1910–12), IV (1911), pp. 269–70: ‘Et si ouvra tant a cele assamblee la grace de dieu et sa volente deuine que la damoisele conchut helain le blanc qui puis fu empereres de constantinoble.’ (‘And so much did the grace of God and his divine will work in this coming together that the maiden conceived Helain the White who was afterwards emperor of Constantinople.’)

‘Le Livre d’Artus’, in *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VII, ed. H. O. Sommer (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution, 1913),

pp. 22, 29, 40, 45, 46, 284; p. 22: ‘& Sagremor de Constantinoble li .xxxviii.’ (‘And Sagremor of Constantinople was the thirty-eighth.’)

Marie de France, ‘Le Fresne’, in *Lais*, ed. A. Ewert (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1995), pp. 35–48, vv. 123–26: ‘E desus un paile roé – | Ses sires l’i ot aporté | De Costentinoble, u il fu; | Unques si bon n’orent veü.’ (‘and then placed over her the finest piece of striped brocade which her husband had brought from Constantinople, where he had been’, *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. G. S. Burgess and K. Busby (London: Penguin, 1986)).

The Perilous Cemetery (L’Âtre périlleux), ed. and trans. N. B. Black, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series A, 104 (New York: Garland, 1994), vv. 3612–13: ‘Et si avoit cote a armer | D’un paile de Costentinoble.’ (‘And over his mail he wore a tunic | Of silk from Constantinople’, *The Perilous Cemetery*).

Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu (Li Biaux Descouneüs; The Fair Unknown)*, ed. K. Fresco, trans. C. P. Donagher, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series A, 77 (New York: Garland, 1992), vv. 4754–55: ‘D’un pale de Costantinoble | estoit desus encortinee.’ (‘The ceiling had been draped | with a silken cloth from Constantinople’, Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. Fresco).

Le Roman de Troie en prose, ed. L. Constans and E. Faral, CFMA, 29 (Paris: Champion, 1922), I, paragraphs 2 and 3; para. 2: ‘et devers soileil couchant le bat la mer de Grece que l’on apele Bouche d’Avide, qui s’en entre, per devant la noble cité de Constantinoble, par un estroit bras en la mer que l’en apele la mer Majour.’ (‘and towards the setting sun the Greek sea which is called Mouth of Avide washes it, which enters, in front of the noble city of Constantinople, by a narrow strait of sea called the Major sea.’)

Epics and epic-related texts

The following spelling variants are found: Co(n)stantinoble, Co(n)stentin(n)oble, Co(n)stantinople, Co(n)stantin, Costentin, Constantin le noble, Constantinopoli, Constantinas.

Aye d’Avignon: chanson de geste anonyme, ed. S. J. Borg, Textes Littéraires Français, 134 (Geneva: Droz, 1967), vv. 1282–87: ‘Karles vit [...] | [...] la mer qui le navie aporte | [...] | De Surtre et de Calabre et de Costentinnoble, | Les murs durs e espés desous la roche sore, | Les tors hautes et brunes du tens Costentinnoble.’ (‘Charles sees [...] the sea which brings the ships [...] from Surtre [probably a Saracen city in the Orient], Calabria and Constantinople, the hard, thick walls below the rock above, the high, dark towers of the time of Constantinople.’)

La Belle Hélène de Constantinople: chanson de geste du XIVe siècle, ed. C. Roussel, Textes Littéraires Français, 454 (Geneva: Droz, 1995), vv. 42, 45, 65, 186, 193, 199, 284, 353, 427, 452, 529, 539, 652, 1435, 1484, 1648,

4406, 4537, 4984, 5158, 7646, 8203, 8378, 9837, 10140, 10171, 11396, 11759, 12679, 12683, 13627, 14511, 14662, 15511, 15531; vv. 42–45: ‘Devers Constantinoble avoit ung roy manant | Qui estoit de ce siecle le plus noble vivant, | Et pour se grant noblesche l’aloit on appellant | Le sire de Constantinoble.’ (‘Towards Constantinople there was a king dwelling, who was the noblest alive in this world, and because of his great nobility he was called lord of Constantinople.’)

La Chanson d’Aspremont: chanson de geste du XIIe siècle, ed. L. Brandin, CFMA 19, 25, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1919–21), vv. 1164–68: ‘Et dist Gerars: “Or le m’as ramenbré: | Troi siege sont esleü et sevré, | Constantinoble est li uns apielé | Et l’autre Rome, li tiers ceste cite, | li quars Toulouse qui est de m’ireté.”’ (‘And Gerars said: “Now you have reminded me of it: three seats are chosen and set apart, one of them is called Constantinople and the other Rome, the third is this city, the fourth is Toulouse, which belongs to me.”’)

La Chanson de Roland: The Text of Frederick Whitehead, ed. T. D. Hemming (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993), vv. 2327 and 2329: ‘Jo l’en cunquis [...] | Costentinnoble, dunt il out la fiance.’ (‘I conquered for him [...] Constantinople, whose homage he had.’)

Florence de Rome: chanson d’aventure du premier quart du XIIIe siècle, ed. A. Wallensköld, SATF, 54, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1907–09), I, vv. 418, 603, 1662, 1876; II, vv. 70, 120, 204, 511, 774, 894, 2020, 2425, 2631, 3066, 3071, 3076, 3085, 3113, 3152, 3185, 3271, 3341, 3364; I, vv. 417–18: ‘Or seréz vous de Gresse roÿnne couronnee | Et en Coustantinoble siervie et honnouree.’ (‘Now you will be crowned queen of Greece and will be served and honoured in Constantinople.’)

Les Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. J. Viard, 10 vols (Paris: Société de l’Histoire de France, 1920–53), I, pp. 113, 145, 214, 320; III, pp. 92, 172, 187; VI, pp. 15, 27–28, 40, 196, 263, 265, 268, 277; I, p. 113: ‘Quant cil se fu ensi renduz, il fu mis en une chaine d’argent et menez en Costantinoble.’ (‘When he had thus given himself up, he was put in silver chains and taken to Constantinople.’)

Huon de Bordeaux, ed. P. Ruelle (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), vv. 12–14: ‘Cous-tantinoble tint il tot son eaige; | Set lieues grans fist faire de muraige | Qui encore durent, desc’a le mer salvaige.’ (‘He held Constantinople for all his years; he had seven great leagues of walls made which still stand, as far as the wild sea.’)

Jehan Bodel, *La Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. A. Brousseau, Textes Littéraires Français, 369, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1989), vv. 4924–27: ‘Qar Charles i manda qanq’a lui fu anclin | Des le chief de Calabre deci an Costantin, | Des Espagne la grant deci a Saint Bertin | Qui tient a Danemarche ou croissent li sapin.’ (‘For Charles sent there whoever was subject to him, from the top

of Calabria to Constantinople, from Spain the great to Saint Bertin, which is near to Denmark where the pine-trees grow.’)

Jourdain de Blaye: (Jourdain de Blavies) chanson de geste, ed. P. F. Dembowski (Paris: Champion, 1991), vv. 3151, 3320, 3342, 4145, 4169; vv. 3148–51: ‘Que voz diroie? Tant est la nés alee | Que elle est bien a un port arrivee | D’onne cité qui moult est renonmee, | Constantinoble est par non apellee.’ (‘What shall I say? The ship went so far that it arrived at a port of a city which is greatly renowned, its name is Constantinople.’)

The Old French Crusade Cycle, IV, La Chanson d’Antioche, ed. J. A. Nelson (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), vv. 381, 1072, 1073, 1173, 1200, 1214, 1287, 1462, 2146, 8721, 8728; vv. 380–81: ‘Pasent Pulle et Calabre et toute Romenie; | Jusqu’en Coustantinoble n’i ot regne sacie.’ (‘They cross Apulia and Calabria and the whole of Romania; as far as Constantinople no kingdom is ravaged.’)

The Old French Crusade Cycle, VI, La Chanson de Jérusalem, ed. N. R. Thorp (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), vv. 3130–31: ‘Une autre esciele fisent no chevalier baron, | Cil de Costantinoble – tot furent compaignon.’ (‘Our knights made up another troop, those of Constantinople – all were companions.’)

Der Roman von ‘Fierabras’ provenzalisch, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin, 1829), vv. 67, 111, 117; vv. 66–67: ‘ardon vilas e borcxes, no laychan res en via. | Contastinoble preyro, e la terr’an sayzia.’ (‘they burned cities and towns, and left nothing alive. Constantinople they took, and ravaged the land.’)

APPENDIX 3

Outline of Events in the History of East–West Relations from the Second Crusade to the Palaeologan Reconquest¹

- 1143–80** *The Reign of Manuel I Comnenus*
- 1146** Manuel married Bertha of Sulzbach, sister-in-law of Conrad III of Germany (1138–52). She became the Empress Irene.
- 1147–48** Second Crusade: Louis VII (1137–80) wrote to Manuel asking for supplies and a safe passage, but there was mutual distrust between the two rulers, since the French had ties in Sicily, and Manuel was allied with Conrad III against Roger II of Sicily (1130–54). In return for guides and supplies, the crusaders promised not to seize any town or castle in Byzantine territory, but were unwilling to return to the empire land that had once belonged to it. Yet the Greeks were afraid that the crusaders would attack Constantinople, and Manuel made a treaty with the Turkish sultan. In Asia Minor the crusaders suffered from Turkish attacks, and failure of supplies and support; they felt that the Greeks had betrayed them.
- 1148** Theodora Comnena, niece of Manuel, married Henry Jasomirgott, duke of Austria and nephew of Conrad III.

¹ This appendix provides general background information that is intended as an accompaniment to the fuller and more specific historical detail found in each chapter. Its scope is necessarily limited and selective. Arranged chronologically, it focuses on significant events in the history of Byzantium and of East–West relations during the period in which the texts examined in this study were produced. The names of Byzantine emperors and Latin emperors of Constantinople are highlighted in bold type. In compiling this appendix, I have consulted the following works: Magdalino, pp. 42–43, 52, 58, 62, 69–70, 72, 79, 89, 92–93, 100–2, 117, 209, 243; Brand, *Byzantium*, pp. 41–43, 49–50, 69–73, 79–84, 112–13, 190, 254, 258–59, 380; Ciggaar, pp. 4, 13, 22–24, 35, 87–88, 164–67, 171–74, 185, 187–88, 199–200, 225–227, 233, 235–36, 239–58, 261–74, 305; Norwich, *Byzantium*, pp. 228, 279, 285, 291, 298–306, 312, 321; Nicol, pp. 176–79, 188–90, 196–97; Riley-Smith, pp. 98–102, 111–12, 157–61, 181–87; Riant, *Exuviae*, II (1878), 235–74; *ibid.*, *Dépouilles*, pp. 27–31, 61–72; Belting, pp. 195–97; M.-M. Gauthier, pp. 160–63; Colliot, ‘Images de la femme noble’, pp. 104–11; Barber.

- 1153–55** Marriage was suggested between Maria Comnena, niece of Manuel, and Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), but did not take place.
- 1150s** Another Theodora Comnena, also niece of Manuel, married Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem (1143–63).
- 1161** Manuel married Maria of Antioch, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers.
- 1166–78** Maria, daughter of Manuel and Bertha of Sulzbach, was already engaged to the future Bela III of Hungary (1172–96), but during this period three other alliances were suggested for her: William II of Sicily (1166–89) in 1166; John, the youngest son of Henry II of England (1154–89), in 1170; and Frederick Barbarossa's son Henry in 1171. The marriage with William II was agreed in 1172, but she finally married Renier of Montferrat in 1178.
- 1179–80** Agnes, daughter of Louis VII, and sister of the future king of France Philip II Augustus (1180–1223), came to Constantinople and was engaged to Manuel's son, the future Alexius II (born in 1169 and recognized as heir in 1171).
- 1179–81** Eudocia Comnena, niece of Manuel, was engaged to Alfonso II of Aragon (1162–96), but he called off the marriage, and she married William VIII of Montpellier in 1181. Her contract said that in line with Byzantine tradition any daughters could inherit Montpellier, but soon afterwards she was divorced.
- 1180–1204** *Political Coups and the Fourth Crusade*
- 1180–83** Reign of **Alexius II Comnenus**; Latin massacre of 1182.
- 1183–85** **Andronicus I Comnenus** had Alexius murdered, seized the throne, and married Alexius's widow Agnes.
- 1185–95** **Isaac II Angelus** evaded arrest and was crowned emperor in a popular insurrection. Andronicus was put to death at the hands of the people. Probably in 1186 Isaac married Margaret of Hungary, daughter of Bela III of Hungary (1173–96); she took the name Maria. In 1187 Theodora, sister of Isaac, married Conrad of Montferrat, who received the title of caesar without the insignia, and suppressed a revolt against Isaac, but then left Constantinople for the Holy Land.
- 1189–91** Third Crusade: In 1189 Philip Augustus (1180–1223), the son and successor of Louis VII, wrote to Isaac asking permission to travel through Byzantine land. In 1188 the Greeks were informed of the army's plans, and assured them that their passage through the empire would be peaceful; for their part they promised guides and supplies. However, the crusaders were harassed in areas of the Balkans under Byzantine control; Isaac had made a pact with Saladin in which he agreed to delay and destroy the crusaders.

- Isaac tried to arrest Frederick Barbarossa's ambassadors in Constantinople and hold them as hostages. The crusaders ignored the threats, resorted to plundering, and Frederick considered attacking Constantinople itself.
- 1192–97** Irene Angela, daughter of Isaac and sister of Alexius IV Angelus, married Roger III, co-ruler of Sicily (1192–93), but he died in 1193. In 1195 she became a captive of the German emperor Henry VI (1190–97), who married her to his brother Philip of Swabia, in order to establish claims to the Byzantine throne.
- 1195–1203** Isaac's brother **Alexius III Angelus** seized the throne; Isaac was blinded.
- 1201–03** The beginning of the Fourth Crusade: in 1201, a party led by Geoffroy de Villehardouin travelled to Venice to negotiate with Doge Enrico Dandolo on the provision of ships for the crusaders. When the crusaders gathered in Venice in 1202 as arranged, their numbers were far less than expected, and they were unable to pay the Venetians. The Doge offered to postpone payment of the debt, if the crusaders would help him to recapture the city of Zara which had been taken by Hungary. Philip of Swabia sent a message stating that, if the crusaders would crown his brother-in-law, the future Alexius IV Angelus, emperor of Byzantium, Alexius would finance their expedition and reconcile the Greek Church with that of Rome. Alexius had fled Constantinople and taken refuge at Philip's court. The crusaders agreed.
- 1203–04** The crusaders crowned **Alexius IV Angelus** and **Isaac II Angelus** as co-emperors. There was a gradual deterioration in Latin–Byzantine relations. Alexius IV became more and more unpopular with the Greeks, and was unable to pay the crusaders the money he owed them.
- 1204** Agnes was by now married to Theodore Branas, a Greek aristocrat, and was unwilling to speak to the Western nobles. Boniface of Montferrat, leader of the crusade, married Isaac's widow Maria.
- 1204** **Alexius V Ducas**, known as **Murzuphlus**, murdered Alexius IV and usurped the throne. He refused to honour Alexius's agreement with the crusaders, so they conquered the city and sacked it. Murzuphlus fled, but was later brought back and put to death. According to the terms drawn up in the *Partitio Romaniae*, the Latin emperor was to receive one-quarter of the empire, including the palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernae, and the crusaders and Venetians were to receive three-eighths each.

- 1204–61** *The Latin Empire and the Palaeologan Reconquest*
- 1204–05** **Baldwin I of Flanders** was crowned emperor. Baldwin sent Philip Augustus relics from the Bucoleon Chapel, including a piece of the True Cross and a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, which were placed in Saint-Denis. Over the ensuing years, many relics were taken west by individuals, through trade, or officially sent by the Latin emperor or bishops as presents. Many bodies of saints, among other relics, were sent to Venice.
- 1206–28** **Henry of Hainault** (1206–16), **Peter of Courtenay** (1217), **Yolanda** (1217–19) and **Robert of Courtenay** (1221–28) ruled in Byzantium.
- 1228–61** Reign of **Baldwin II**. Baldwin pawned the Crown of Thorns to Venice; he was unable to redeem it, and it was bought by Louis IX (1226–70). The Crown and the True Cross arrived in France between 1239 and 1241. The Sainte-Chapelle, the reliquary chapel built to house the relics and conceived as an heir to the chapel of the Bucoleon palace, was consecrated in 1248.
- 1261** **Michael VIII Paleologus** (1259–82), Greek emperor in exile since 1259, took Constantinople. In July 1261 he had ratified the Treaty of Nymphaeum with Genoa. This was made on the initiative of the Genoese as revenge on the Venetians for having expelled them from their quarter in Acre in 1258. The Genoese offered ships to help force the Venetians from Constantinople. The city fell to Michael without the need for the ships, but he rewarded the Genoese with quarters and properties all over Byzantium.
- Post-1261** In 1262 Pope Urban IV (1261–64) ordered a crusade to be preached against Michael Paleologus. In 1267, the Treaty of Viterbo was drawn up between Pope Clement IV (1265–68), Charles I of Anjou (king of Sicily, 1266–85) and Baldwin II. Baldwin's son, Philip of Courtenay, and Charles's daughter Beatrice were to marry; by reinstating Baldwin, the heirs of Charles of Anjou would have the Latin Empire.

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INDEX

The major concepts, such as renewal and utopia, and the main names of places and people (especially where these occur in more than one text), as well as some minor names, are listed separately. Topics are generally listed under the relevant literary text, but some references will be found listed separately. Literary episodes will be found listed under the relevant literary text. Entries for names in historical texts only list the main pages where they are discussed. The appendices are not indexed, as it is relatively easy for the reader to locate information there.

- Abgar of Edessa, King 114
Acts, book of 27
admiration/*admiratio* 1, 3, 4–5, 9, 14,
57, 82, 117–18
and identification 3
and imitation/*aemulatio* 183
and the marvellous 30
and possession/violence/appropriation
3–4
Agnes of France 80
Aix-la-Chapelle 66, 68
Albigensian Crusade 184
Alexius II Comnenus 80
Alexius III Angelus 10, 111–12
Alexius IV Angelus 111–12, 123, 161,
167
Alexius Murzuphlus 123, 125–26, 161
amplificatio as device 78–79
Annunciation 178
antiphrasis 140
Arthur, King 19
Ascension Day 178
Auerbach, Erich 17
Alan of Lille
Anticlaudianus 16
De planctu naturae 15–16
Alcuin 15
Alexander III, Pope 164, 169
Alexander IV, Pope 139, 141
ancient history, compilations of 32
Andronicus I Comnenus 10, 111
Anna Comnena (*Alexiad*) 10
Anselm of Canterbury 16
Anthony of Novgorod 12
Aquinas, St 30
Aristotle 30
Augustine, St 3, 61
and *De civitate Dei* 23–24
doctrine of the two cities 9, 23–24
reinterpretation in Middle Ages
24–27
*see also under city and theology of
the city*
Avignon 84
Babylon 23–26
Baldwin II 161, 162, 164, 165
Baldwin of Flanders 124–25
Basil I 10
Beatrice of Burgundy 37
Beattie, Tina 187–88
'Beau Manoir' as female space 149,
150, 153
Benoît de Sainte Maure (*Roman de
Troie*) 10, 18–19, 30, 76
Bernard of Chartres 15
Bernard of Clairvaux (*Sermones super
Cantica*) 16
Bernard Silvestris (*Cosmographia*) 15
Bertha of Sulzbach 80
Blachernae, palace of 10, 11, 12, 114,
125
Blessed Virgin of the Pharos, church of
11, 113–14

- Blois-Champagne, house of 9, 65, 78, 79–80
 Boethius, model emphasising flux 26
 Bonafin, Massimo 52
 Boniface of Montferrat 110–11, 167
 Bonincontro dei Bovi 164, 169–72
 see also under manuscripts
Book of Ceremonies 56
 Bordier, Jean-Pierre 141
 Boutet, Dominique 17
 Bouvines, battle of (1214) 184
 Brogiolo, Gian Pietro 3
 Brown, Patricia Fortini 157–8
 Brown, Peter 4
 Bucoleon, palace of 10, 11, 113–14, 125
 Burgess, Glyn 68
 Burgundio of Pisa 12
 Byzantine emperor (*basileus*) 10–11, 13, 38
 as *cosmocrator* 14
 as manipulative 85, 119–20
 as representative of Christ 10
 as theocratic 56
 Byzantine Empire 2–3, 39
 alliance with France 75–76, 77–79, 80–82, 86, 109–12
 ideology upholding unity of Christendom 10–11
 loss of 5, 143–46
 relationship with Venice 157–58
 renunciation of 152–53
 as site of cultural difference 14
 as source of inspiration for the West 14–15, 19
 Western interest in 9–14
 see also Constantinople, East–West relations
 Byzantine liturgy 38
 Byzantines
 designated as Greek by West 11
 disloyalty to Pope 160
 topos of lazy and effeminate 19

 Calvino, Italo (*Le città invisibili*) 30–31, 186–87
 Cana, wedding at 92
 Castellani, Marie-Madeleine 45
chansons de croisade 32
chansons de geste
 alliance and rivalry as plot motif 33
 reception in Italy 106
 tradition of military boasts 57
 traitor and exile motifs in 105
 see also stock characters of *chansons de geste*
 Charlemagne 5, 11, 109–10, 119–21
 legend of journey to the Orient 65–70
 window at Chartres 66–68
 Charles Martel 81
 chivalry 5
 Chrétien de Beavais 141, 142
 Chrétien de Troyes (*Cligès*) 5, 18, 19–20, 32, 61, 152
 Christ Pantocrator 56
 church of 115
 Christmas Day 178
 chronicles 31–32
 and anecdote 113, 117–18
 and authorial naming 116–17
 and Fourth Crusade 33–34
 Chrysotriclinos, hall of 10
 Cicero 21, 23
 Ciggaar, Krijnie N. 1, 3, 14, 18–20
 city
 ambivalence of material 22–23
 association with woman 152–53
 attitudes to and literary representation of 1–2
 Augustinian vision of city as metaphor 171–72
 as geographically limited society 3
 implicit 30–31
 Late Antique theology of 24–26
 in medieval thought 20–27
 as metaphor for renewal 3
 as metonym for marriage alliance 78–79, 80–81
 modes of description 113
 tripartite descriptions 56–57, 83–84
 as *urbs* and *civitas* 9, 20–21, 58–59
 walls 21–22
 see also Augustine, theology of the city
 Clement IV, Pope 162
 Clement V, Pope 165
 Combarieu (du Grès), Micheline de 95
 Comblin, Joseph 21
 Comnenian dynasty 9, 10
 see also individual emperors
 Conrad of Montferrat 110–11
 Constantine I 10, 26
 foundation of Byzantine Empire 10, 20

- Constantine VI 68
- Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*Book of Ceremonies*) 13
- Constantinople
- as ambivalent and marginal 3, 21
 - architecture 43–46, 56, 83–84
 - automata 12, 14, 52–55, 85, 97–98, 115
 - columns 12–13, 116
 - gold and wealth 12, 47, 55–56, 83, 97–98, 113–16, 118
 - historical Western interest in 9–14
 - icons 11, 126
 - magic 14, 52–55, 85, 99–101
 - as marker of generic hybridity 61–64
 - as model 42–43, 64–65, 66–69, 93–94
 - mosaics and precious stones 11, 83–84, 114–15
 - as New Rome and New Jerusalem 11, 20–21
 - as object of wonder 116–18
 - relics 11–12, 113–16
 - renewed by West 19
 - and Rome 20–23
 - routes to 9
 - as secular 56–57
 - statues 12, 44–45, 115
 - survey of medieval French literature about 31–34
 - vaulted chambers 84
 - Venetian quarter in 157
 - Western appropriation of
 - architecture 83–84, 172–74, 181
 - as Western textual artefact 30–31*see also individual palaces, churches, statues, saints, emperors and relics, as well as individual texts and broad concepts such as renewal and utopia*
- Corbie, abbey of 107
- Corinthians, book of 39
- Council of Lyons (1274) 161
- Council of Sens (1155) 91
- Crown of Thorns 11, 68, 69, 137–38, 149
- see also* Passion, relics of the
- crusade 37, 139–40, 143, 144–46, 162–63, 165
- ideology 44, 46, 64–65
 - literature 32, 33
 - and visitors to Constantinople 9
- see also individual crusades*
- cultural difference *see* utopia
- Dahan, Gilbert 153
- Daniel, book of 18
- ‘De exaltatione sancte crucis’ 50
- Degenhart, Bernhard, and Annegrit Schmitt 164
- Demus, Otto 157–58, 176, 179
- Denis (bishop of Paris) 65
- Descriptio* 66, 68, 69
- Doge’s Palace 177
- Domus Aurea* (of Nero) 56
- Dumézil, Georges 63
- East, experience of loss of 1
- East–West relations 1, 2, 3, 5, 14–20, 75–76, 106, 110, 112, 164, 179
- and Christendom 76
 - fictional political unity 81–82
 - as temporary episode 153
- Easter Sunday 178
- Eley, Penny 37, 40, 78, 79–80
- encyclopaedic works 32
- Enrico Dandolo 162, 165, 173
- ‘Epistle to Diognetus’ 24
- Eucharist 92
- Eudocia Comnena 86
- Evrard d’Espinques 147
- Exaltation of the Cross *see* Invention and Exaltation of the Cross
- Exodus, book of 27
- extra-diegetic and intra-diegetic *see* Constantinople as Western textual artefact
- Faral, Edmond 37
- Fasoli, Gina 157–58
- Fassò, Andrea 63
- Forum of the Augustaion 12
- Foucars 42
- Foulques of Neuilly 166, 168
- Fourrier, Anthime 38, 80
- Fourth Crusade 5, 11, 107, 111, 165–68, 178, 184
- crowning of Alexius IV Angelus 111, 112, 123
 - and division of land 126–27, 161–62
 - and looting of Constantinople 11, 113, 118, 126, 158, 173
 - and material city 116, 117–18
 - and pilgrimage 114

- reinterpreted in Venice 157–58,
159–63, 165–66
and Trojan War 19
*see also individual texts and
participants*
- Fourth Lateran Council (1215) 184
Frederick Barbarossa 158, 164, 169
- Ganim, John M. 187
Gaunt, Simon 87
Gautier d'Arras (*Eracle*) 4, 18, 19
artifice in 39–42, 49–51, 58–59
Constantinople episode 42–46
date and identity of author 36–37
genre 61–4
imitatio Christi 37–39, 43–44
Jerusalem episode 42–43
Persia episode and Persian sultan
49–51
prologue 42
Rome episode 39–41
structure 37
- Genoa 157, 159, 162
genre 2, 31–34, 61–64
choice of 31–33
and codicology 62
distinctions between 33–34
epic versus romance 61, 103–4
hybridity 63–64
intergeneric 2, 34
narrative 2, 32
and role of Constantinople in text
185–86
see also individual genres
- Geoffroy de Villehardouin (*Conquête de
Constantinople*) 5, 11, 160, 164
justification of conquest 167–68
loyalty conveyed through order
166–67
manuscript context 164–66
see also under manuscripts
- Gervereau, Laurent 29
Giacomino da Verona 26
Gilbert of Tournai 132
Giordano da Pisa 27
Girard, René 17, 87
Girart de Roussillon 5
Constantinople episode 81–83, 85–86
exemplum on Saint Sophia 93–94
exile in 88–89
historical context 86
manuscript tradition 81
- marriage alliance in 80–81
monarchic *renovatio* 86–91
monastic *renovatio* 91–96
palaces, description of 83–84
- Good Friday 179
Golden Gate 115
Gossouin de Metz (*Image du Monde*)
138
Grant, Lindy 65
Gratian (*Decretum*) 167
Graus, F. 27
Greek, knowledge of in West 9, 173
Greek reconquest of Constantinople
(1261) 139, 159, 164
Greenblatt, Stephen 3–4, 30, 60, 186
Greer, Rowan 24
Grisward, Joël 63
Guillaume Oléry 147
Guillaume de Saint-Amour 139, 141–42
Gunther of Pairis (*Historia
Constantinopolitana*) 19, 166
- Hammer, William 21
Harf-Lancner, Laurence 15
Hartley, L.P. (*The Go-Between*) 187
Hawkins, Peter S. 3
Heinermann, Theodor 68–69
Helen, St 42–44
Henry II 80
Henry of Austria 86
Heraclius 5, 18, 42–44, 59, 64
Hippodrome 14, 115
Historia Ducum Veneticorum 160
Holy Apostles, church of 10, 115, 172
Holy Land 143–45, 163, 167, 168
Holy Saturday 178
Holy Sepulchre 42–44, 48, 82
Honorius Augustodunensis (*Elucidarium*)
56
Hugh Etherianus 12
Humbert of Romans 132
- idolatry 49–51
imitation/*aemulatio* 1, 3, 4–5, 9, 14–20,
63
and admiration/*admiratio* 183
and renewal/*renovatio*, linked by
translatio 17–18
Incarnation, the 38, 94
Innocent III, Pope 166, 167
Invention and Exaltation of the Cross
42, 43, 50, 51, 64

- Isaac II Angelus 111–12
 Isidore of Seville 21, 26
 Ivry, Treaty of 80
- Jacques d'Armagnac 147
 Jeanne of Flanders 132
 Jerome 18
 Jerusalem 42–43, 48–49, 64, 66, 69,
 114, 120, 180
 on maps 27
 Jerusalem and Babylon *see under*
 Augustine
 John the Baptist 38, 136
 John of Damascus 12
 John of Salisbury
Metalogicon 15, 138
Policraticus 17
 Justinian 10, 11, 13, 18
 Justinian, equestrian statue of 12
 misinterpreted as Heraclius 44–45,
 115, 125
- Kaiserchronik* 18
 Kantorowicz, Ernst 21
 Kay, Sarah 17, 61, 87, 105
 King, David S. 37
 king's two bodies, concept of 16–17
 crown as metonym of divine body
 17
 split between authority and power 17
 Kinoshita, Sharon 55
- Labbé, Alain 53, 83–84, 85, 87, 91–92,
 95
 Lacy, Norris J. 37
lai tradition 102
 Larmat, Jean 167–68
 Latin Empire of Constantinople 5, 140,
 142–43, 162–63, 164–65, 173, 184
 Latin kingdom of Jerusalem 9
Legenda aurea 50
 Lejeune, Rita 68
 Lendit fair 66, 68
 Levinas, Emmanuel 3–4, 60, 186
 Liturgies, Orthodox (St John Chrysostom
 and St Basil) 12
 Liutprand of Cremona 13–14
loggia dei cavalli 177
 Lombardy 132–33, 149
 Lorenzo Tiepolo 176, 177, 179
 Louis VII 66, 68, 79–80, 91
 Louis IX 139, 143, 146, 162
- Macario* 5
 Constantinople episodes 119–21
 Hungary episode 119
 manuscript context and summary
 106–7, 108–9
 other versions of the story 121
 treachery topos and calumniated wife
 motif 109–10
 Varocher 118–19, 122–23
- Maddox, Donald 34
 Magnaura palace 13
 Manuel Comnenus 10, 37, 69–70, 80,
 86, 110, 115
 manuscripts
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc.
 587 164–66, 168–72
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de
 France, fonds français, 93
 147–48, 149–51
mappae mundi 17, 27
 Marco (*Cronaca*, 1292) 160
 Marguerite of Flanders 132
 Maria Comnena 80, 86
 Marie de Champagne 37
 Marin, Louis 29, 30
 Marino Sanudo Torsello (Marino Sanudo
 the Elder) 164–65
Secreta fidelium Crucis 164–65
 Mark, St 172–73, 173–74, 176–77
apparitio 173–74, 177–78
praedestinatio 173–74, 179–80
translatio 172, 173–74, 175–76, 178,
 179–80
- Marques de Rome* 5
 authorship and date 131–32
 historical context 132, 154
 Lombardy and Constantinople
 episodes 148–49, 152–53
 manuscript context 132, 155–56
 Marques as embodiment of truth and
 Roman *civitas* 133–34
 and other versions of Seven Sages
 story 131–32
 sections of the text 132–33
 shift from Sages to Marques 133
 storytelling episode 134–38,
 150–52
see also under manuscripts
 marriage alliance 4–5, 9, 16, 33, 75–77,
 79–82, 86, 90, 110, 111–12
 and land 79
 questioning the effectiveness of 5

- renouncing trappings of 94, 132, 133,
137, 152–53
- Martino da Canal (*Estoire de Venise*) 5
and architecture of San Marco
174–76
authorship and context 158–59
and legend of St Mark 173–74,
177–78
and liturgy 177–79
portrayal of Fourth Crusade 160–62
portrayal of Latin Empire of
Constantinople 162
portrayal of Peace of Venice 159–60
and prayer to St Mark 180–81
and Veneto city-states 162–63
- martyr saints 40
- Mary Magdalene, St 95
- Mary, Virgin *see* Virgin Mary
- Maundy Thursday 89
- medievalism 186–87
- Mendicant Friars 139–43, 146
- Michael VIII Paleologus 159
- Michel Gonnot 147
- Monticolo, Giovanni 164
- More, Thomas 27–29
- Nada Patrone, Anna Maria 113
- Naimés 109–10, 119–21, 122–23, 146
- Neuschäfer, Hans-Jörg 68
- Nicetas Choniates 11
- Nichols, Stephen G. 95, 168
- Noble, Peter 107
- Nymphaeum, Treaty of 159
- Odo of Deuil 12
- Origen 24
- Orléans 84
- otherness *see* utopia
- Otto I 11
- Otto of Freising 18, 20, 26
- outline of the study 4–5
- Pala d'Oro* 172, 173
- Palm Sunday 43
- Paris 84, 109, 139, 143
- Partitio Romanie* 161–62
- Partonopeus de Blois* 4–5
beneficial effects of Western
domination 76
Chief d'Oirre 76, 96–101
date and context 79–80
exile in 101
- filz a vilain* in 76–77
manuscript *A* redaction 77–80
marriage alliances in 78–79
Melior's Byzantine origins 99–100
narratorial distance 101–3
pagans in 77
Trojan origins of Franks 76–77
- Passion, relics of the 65–69, 179
- patriarch, Orthodox 11
- Peace of Venice (1177) 158, 159–60,
164, 168–69, 171–72
- Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* 4
Christological kingship in 48
Constantinople episode 51–58
date and manuscript context 68–69
discourse of folly in 47, 57–58,
59–60
genre 62–64
Jerusalem episode 48
power and authority of Charlemagne
46–49
- Pentecost 81
- Pertusi, Agostino 181
- Petrucci, Valentino 29
- 'Peutinger's Table' 21–22
- Philip Augustus 16, 110
- Philip of Courtenay 161, 164
- Pierre of Amiens 107
- Pope (in fictional genres) 81–82, 91, 121
- Pratt, Karen 36–37, 62
- princess, Byzantine 5, 57, 75–76, 83,
100, 103–4, 149–50, 152–54
- prose compilations 32
- Provins 37
- Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite 15, 65
De caelesti hierarchia 66
- Psychomachia* tradition 140–41
- Ramey, Lynne Tarte 31, 187
- Raynaud de Lage, Guy 37, 40
- 'reform movement' 16, 26–27
- renewal/*renovatio* 1, 3, 5, 14–18, 60–61
and commemoration 181–82
and conquest 184
difficulty in locating 5, 143
inscribing audience in 42
material city as vehicle for 43–45,
83–84
as peaceful victory 19
political and social 15, 45–46, 78,
80–82
as positive 60

- as process 169–72, 180–81
 and renunciation 133–34, 146–47
 role of *civitas* in 41
 and social conflict 122
 spiritual 16, 38–39, 45, 91–94
 in twelfth century 9, 14–18
see also under Venice
 renewal and utopia
 debate between 1, 2–3, 4
 as modern constructs 2
 reconciliation of 5
 slippage between 4, 183
 Renier of Montferrat 86
 Renier Zeno 159, 162–63, 173, 174,
 177, 178, 179
 Resurrection, the 79, 89
 Revelation, book of 23
 Reynders, Anne 80
 Rheims 81
 Riley-Smith, Jonathan 167
 Robert de Clari (*Conquête de
 Constantinople*) 5, 11, 166
 coronation of Baldwin of Flanders
 124–25
 description of Constantinople
 113–18
 digressions on Byzantine history
 110–12
 justification of conquest 124
 manuscript context and authorship
 107
 neglect of poor knights 126
 parallels with digressions 123–24
 punishment of Alexius Murzuphlus
 125–26
 Robert of Courson 167
 Robertson, Duncan 61–62
Roman des Sept Sages and continuations
 131–32, 155–56
 romance
 marriage as plot motif 33
 Rufinus of Bologna 167
 Runte, Hans R. 150
 Rushdie, Salman (*The Ground Beneath
 Her Feet*) 29
 Rutebeuf 5
 ‘Bataille des vices contre les vertus’
 140–43
 ‘Complainte de Constantinople’
 143–46
 ‘Disputaison du Croisé et du Décroisé’
 146
 Saïd, Edward 29
 Saint Sophia, church of 10, 11–12, 38,
 66, 82, 93–94, 114, 172
 Saint-Denis, abbey church of 46–47,
 65–69
 Samuel, book of 27
 San Marco, basilica of 157–58, 172–76,
 177
 San Marco, piazza 176–77
 Santa Maria Formosa 178–79
 Sargent, Lyman Tower 28
 Schaer, Roland 28
 Sebastiano Ziani 158, 173
 Second Crusade 68
 Seidel, Ilse 3
 ‘Sermo de Sancta Cruce’ 59
Sermoni Subalpini 26
 sexuality
 and guilt 135–37
 Sicard of Cremona 167
 Simons, Penny 78, 79–80
 society 5, 106, 109–10, 119, 122, 123,
 127–28
 Solomon 13
 throne of 13–14
 Song of Songs 16, 26
 Spiegel, Gabrielle 31–32
 Sturm-Maddox, Sara 34
 Subrenat, Jean 61
 Suetonius 56
 Suger (abbot of Saint-Denis) 65–66, 69
 Tacitus 56
 Tanner, Tony 1
 Theodora (niece of Manuel
 Comnenus) 86
 theology
 of the city 1, 3, 20–27
 Orthodox 12
 Theophilus 10, 13
 Thibaut IV of Blois 37, 65
 Thibaut V of Blois 37, 65
 Thibaut de Champagne 166
 Thomas of Chobham 167
 Trannoy, Patricia 55
translatio 3, 5, 15, 18–20
 contrasting presentations in thirteenth
 century 131, 133–34, 138–39,
 140, 145–46, 153–54
 as defence mechanism 19
 and *figura* 17
 imperatorum 18, 60–61, 63

- originum* 18–19
regni/imperii 18
 of relics 4, 42–43, 46, 64
religionis 64–65
studii/militiae 18, 30
 Trevisan March 106, 127
 Triclinium, hall of 13
 Trousson, Raymond 28
 Troy 18–19
 Truce of God 91
 True Cross 11, 36, 42–43, 64, 69, 179
 see also Passion, relics of the
- utopia 1, 27–30, 60
 as alternative to renewal 4–5, 105
 associated with artifice and
 manipulation 98, 99–100
 associated with materiality 55–56,
 60, 96–98
 as cultural difference 1, 29–30
 destroyed by a superior West 60, 76,
 183
 and disorientation 29–30
 and distance 98, 116–18
 frontiers of 29, 99
 as means for renewal 5, 127–28
 medieval versus Renaissance 27–28
 as morally ambivalent 96–98
 origins of marvels ambivalent 51–52
 and otherness 3–4
- as secular 56–57
 and social transformation 5
- Venice
 architectural *renovatio* 157–58,
 172–77
 civic loyalty 157–58, 158–63
 and Fourth Crusade 126, 160–62
 historical ties and dealings with
 Byzantium 157, 165
 ‘Versus Romae’ 20–21
 Vézelay 91–92, 94–95
 Virgin of Blachernae, church of 114
 Virgin Mary 92, 94, 136, 178
 icons of 11, 126
 Virtues and Vices *see Psychomachia*
 tradition
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan 3
 William VIII of Montpellier 86
 William of Auvergne 26
 William of Conches 15
 Wolff, Robert Lee 164
 Wolfzettel, Friedrich 61, 63
 wonder *see* admiration/*admiratio*
 Woods, Ellen R. 61
- Zara 160–61, 166
 Zink, Michel 59
 Zumthor, Paul 27, 28, 40, 113

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Medieval France saw Constantinople as something of a quintessential ideal city. Aspects of Byzantine life were imitated in and assimilated to the West in a movement of political and cultural renewal, but the Byzantine capital was also celebrated as the locus of a categorical and inimitable difference.

This book analyses the debate between renewal and utopia in Western attitudes to Constantinople as it evolved through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in a series of vernacular (Old French, Occitan and Franco-Italian) texts, including the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, *Girart de Roussillon*, *Partonopeus de Blois*, the poetry of Rutebeuf, and the chronicles by Geoffroy de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, both known as the *Conquête de Constantinople*. It establishes how the texts' representation of the West's relationship with Constantinople enacts this debate between renewal and utopia; demonstrates that analysis of this relationship can contribute to a discussion on the generic status of the texts themselves; and shows that the texts both react to the socio-cultural context in which they were produced, and fulfil a role within that context.

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